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Teaching to transform : the legacy of African American scholar-activists in higher education.

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TEACHING TO TRANSFORM: THE LEGACY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOLAR-ACTIVISTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

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DEDICATION

To the Spirit of the Living God,
my ancestors, my Grandma Bea
my parents, Mattie and Adrian Joseph,
my high school guidance counselor-
Margaret Batchelor White,
and all of the children yet unborn

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ABSTRACT

TEACHING TO TRANSFORM: THE LEGACY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOLAR-ACTIVISTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

MAY 2000

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In this qualitative research study, I examined the autobiographies, oral narratives and life stories of twelve African American scholar-activists (including myself) who have used higher education as a vehicle for teaching and learning, as a tool for personal transformation and as an ingredient for social change. The research questions that the study was designed to address were: How have African Americans used scholarship as a means for personal and social transformation? What is the role and responsibility of scholar-activists who choose to root their genius in the academy? What lessons can be learned about how to use higher education for the purposes of transformation?

Through a contextual analysis involving the personal lives of selected scholar-activists, I learned about the power that higher education has to shape identity and influence actions. This study also highlights how African American culture and spirit are components of research, teaching and activism; celebrates some of the contributions that African Americans have made to higher education; identifies five dimensions of teaching and transformation; and posits seven ways that higher education can contribute to the process of transformation.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

A wise saying is that "to teach is to touch a life forever". In the community that I grew up in teaching is considered to be a matter of the heart and it is a noble profession. As an aspiring young African American high school student, it was clear to me that if I wanted to make a difference by joining the teaching profession, I would need a college degree. I happily joined the Future Teachers' Club, but I was not particularly excited about the idea of attending college. What did having a college degree mean, anyway? I was not at all impressed when the adults in my life represented the collegiate experience as the ultimate opportunity. The little that I knew then about college was that it cost a lot of money and it was an opportunity preserved for mostly privileged white people. I vaguely heard about historically black colleges and universities in the South through a legend in my family that one of my father's nine siblings had graduated from Tougaloo College in Mississippi and Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Despite my misgivings and questions, though, and based on the way that most of the people in my family and community represented it, I clearly understood that going to college was a dream come true and being a college graduate was a great achievement in life.

Beyond the dream, however, my reality was that I was one of six children in an African American family that struggled against poverty and racism by leaning on an extended family, cultural traditions and the community environment embedded in the New England town where I grew up. Attending school was always a challenging, stimulating and enjoyable experience for me. I loved the reading, the writing, the discussions, and the extracurricular activities. From kindergarten to high school graduation, I excelled academically, and in elementary and junior high school I was selected to be included in

special reading programs for the "gifted and talented". By the time I reached high school I was firmly hooked on education and I was a member of not only the Future Teachers' Club, but also the National Honor Society, the Safety Council, the yearbook staff, the Office Aides and the volleyball team. I even received several awards and recognitions, including being selected to represent my high school at a statewide luncheon with the governor of Massachusetts.

But when it was time for me to finish high school, I had had enough of formal schooling and I was ready to find a solid means of supporting myself. It would have been nice to be a teacher, but who had the money or the time to pursue such a profession? Why should I aspire to something that seemed clearly out of my reach? After all, none of my friends were talking about going to college and I did not know many African Americans who had actually attended college. I never had an African American teacher in school and I personally knew of only four African American teachers who worked in the entire school system. Teaching might have been a way for me to make a difference in the world, but I really wanted to be practical and realistic about what life in America had to offer me. A college degree just did not seem possible and the idea of being a teacher was a career fantasy. Instead, there seemed to be many practical and "good paying" jobs in the factory and government that might be open to me. According to the secretaries in the high school administrative offices where I served as an office aide, I was a good office worker. So when I was ready to graduate from high school, what I hoped for most was that someone would hire me and issue me a weekly paycheck. I needed to house, feed and clothe myself and others--some medical benefits would be nice too.

After all, I was greatly encouraged by the examples of the African American adults in my small community who were hardworking bus drivers, laborers and factory workers. My father owned a construction business and my mother worked in a factory. I watched one of my grandmothers work for years in the tobacco fields of North Carolina and the other one raise nine children and serve as the organist for her church in Mississippi. In my

eyes, they were all good people raising children the best way that they knew how. I felt challenged just to live up to their examples! Both of my parents and other people encouraged me constantly and made me believe that I could do whatever I dreamed about and worked hard for. Going to college was something that I think my parents and other adults aspired to do themselves, but for many reasons, they never pursued it. I actually believed that many other African Americans in my working class community really thought that going to college was a fantasy too. I got the sense from my parents, though, that if I pursued and graduated from college, they would be proud and satisfied that I was doing my best to help myself, my family, African Americans as a race of people and America as one nation under God.

Nevertheless, college was not in my plans. Many of the adults in my life were especially puzzled by my apathetic attitude about college because it was well known (and often celebrated) that I had consistently demonstrated an aptitude for academic work. Fortunately for me, several of these concerned adults took a direct interest in me and my future and they set out to challenge me and persuade me to change my mind. My parents constantly encouraged me but they really did not know much about college itself. They could not tell me how to be admitted or what the significance of different degrees was or what the courses of study were or where colleges were located or how much it cost or any of those kind of matters. The one thing that they were clear about was that, with six children and ongoing struggles with their blue collar jobs, they could not pay for me to attend college. Yet, they were relentless. They dreamed for me what I did not dream for myself and nature took its course--seeds of faith yielded much fruit.

One African American woman in particular, who was a recently hired guidance counselor at my high school, took a special interest in me. She got my attention and literally forced me to apply to colleges by standing over me and guiding me through the entire college application process. One of the reasons that she was so insistent on helping me go to college was that she had previously overheard another guidance counselor (who

just happened to be a White woman) tell me that because I was ranked number 20 in my class of 572 students, I should aspire to be a secretary instead of a factory worker. This African American woman counselor stopped me on the way out of the office and told me that I could be more than a secretary. She told me I could be a president or anything else that I wanted to be and that she was personally going to make sure that I went to college so that a greater destiny would be available to me. She was very convincing and her personal achievements were impressive and inspiring. From that moment, I committed to letting her be my mentor, and she guided me through a process that birthed a wonderful opportunity for me to experience higher education and to develop as a human being.

As it turns out, my connection to higher education spans a period of almost thirty years as a student, teacher, administrator and community activist. From community colleges to women's colleges to liberal arts colleges to comprehensive colleges to large research universities--higher education has profoundly shaped the course of my life. Thus, I have come to respect the power of "higher" education, and I am most intrigued by the role that teaching and learning play in transforming the lives of people and society as a whole. Colleges and universities are omnipresent in our culture and they have forged some time-honored paths for developing innovations and ideologies. As we move into the 21st century, I want higher education to help lead us toward a more humane, just and generative society, and I want a vast number of African Americans and others to fully participate in and benefit from higher education.

Purpose of the Study

The scholarship represented in this dissertation research project developed as a result of my interest in learning more about how teachers and colleges can transform lives and contribute to social change. Through my life journey as an African American woman who is a descendant of the natives, slaves, masters and immigrants who developed this land called America, I have faced some formidable challenges, complexities and choices

that have shaped my way of being human. The demanding and joyful experiences that I have lived through formal education have played a significant role in defining who I am, what I do, how I do it and why I do it. Higher education, in particular, has opened up my thinking and lifted my spirits. It has helped me to expand my knowledge base and to explore the depths of my soul. Through the field and function of higher education I have learned that education indeed has the power to transform!

In this qualitative research study, I examined the autobiographies, oral narratives and life stories of twelve African American scholar-activists (including myself) who have used higher education as a vehicle for teaching and learning, as a tool for transformation and as an ingredient for social change. The grand tour research questions that guided the study were expansive and engaging. How have African Americans used scholarship as a means for personal and social transformation? What is the role and responsibility of scholar-activists who choose to root their genius in the academy? What lessons can be learned about using higher education for the purposes of transformation? Through the lens of the personal lives of these selected scholar-activists, I learned about how scholarship and higher education have shaped their identities and influenced their actions. Each of the scholar-activists that I studied viewed higher education as a privilege and a responsibility, and they used the enterprise of education as a springboard for their scholarship and a foundation for their activism. Their experiences varied in many ways, but the themes of family, community, culture, teaching, spirit and liberation are strong and shining threads that are as tightly woven together as a handmade patchwork quilt sown together by faith and love.

This study also documents some of the individual and collective contributions that African Americans have made to the development of higher education including the cultivation of historically black colleges and universities; the advent of Black Studies programs; the creation of scholarly organizations and publications; and the practice of transformative pedagogy. Through an analysis of the data and reflections about the spirit

of higher education, I have identified five critical dimensions of teaching for transformation and I posit seven ways that higher education can lead us toward the fullness of humanity by contributing to the process of personal and social transformation. The historical breadth and cultural evolution of African Americans is purposefully described in this study to highlight the inherent influences of culture and spirit on the teaching and learning process and to establish the bridge between higher education and African Americans' incessant quest for liberation.

Research Design and Methodology

This study searched the lives of African American women and men to understand the nature of scholarship and change relative to higher education. The research design for the study was reflective of African American cultural traditions and the methodology explicitly intended that the process of research itself would be used for the purpose of the researcher's own personal transformation. Some specific questions guided the data collection and analysis. How has higher education shaped the lives of African-American scholar-activists? What are the challenges and dilemmas that African American scholar-activists have faced? What does it mean to teach for the purposes of transformation?

In the autumn of 1997, I conducted a pilot qualitative research project involving a series of in-depth phenomenological interviews with an African American male teacher who is studying for a doctorate in education. My approach to the study was to do "research with" people because I believe that it is only through collaboration and collective work that we will be able to produce our best knowledge. In the process, I learned that when one merges his or her own ideas with others, one can construct meaning that neither participant alone could actualize. As a result of the pilot study, I yearned to know more about the lives of African Americans who pursue a college education and I learned to appreciate more and more the meaning that can be derived from lived experiences mingled with collaborative research. Therefore, the pilot project informed and inspired the design

for this larger study and some of the results of the pilot project, including details of the participant's life, are intermingled with the findings of the other phases of the larger research project. The focus of the study is on the first person accounts of the participants. Consequently, this study has been done "with" the lived experiences of a number of different "learned scholars" and the study itself was a life experience for me.

The overall methodology for the study was expanded from the in-depth phenomenological interviewing involved with the pilot study to become a more comprehensive and holistic study of the development of African Americans as a race of people and higher education as a vehicle for social change. The design revolved around qualitative research as an empowerment tool, African American autobiography as a research genre and the African American oral tradition as an integral part of the research process. The diverse phases of the study were informed by feminist research (Cotterill and Letherby, 1993; Etter-Lewis, 1993; Swindells, 1995) and afrocentricity as a concept that allows for research from an African American frame of reference (Asante, 1988; Nobles, 1986; Vaz, 1997; White, 1984). Combining these research perspectives led to a purposeful, yet fluid, study that was tailored to contribute to my own growth and development as a scholar-activist in addition to producing results that could be used to inform strategies and actions designed to transform higher education and lead to social change.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) say that "for the social scientist or researcher in applied fields, research is a process of trying to gain a better understanding of the complexities of human interactions" (p. 15). Because qualitative research depends heavily on human qualities rather than objective measurements, the potential for understanding why, what, who and how is often greater and deeper than with the quantitative research genre. More importantly, qualitative research, influenced by feminist research and afrocentricity, clearly and definitively provided me with the framework for the research design and methodology. Feminist research, as Cotterill and Letherby (1993) define it,

"involves weaving the stories of both the researcher and the researched" in the process of data collection, analysis and discovery (p. 74). Thus, a feminist approach to research allowed for flexibility in both the design and methodology and most importantly it valued the "person" of everyone involved with the scholarship--including myself.

Afrocentricity provided a frame of reference for the cultural context of my life. Being able to assume a central position as an African American in the context of the study allowed my "African" ness to shine through and my knowledge of self to be a valued asset, rather than a liability based on perceived perils of subjectivity in research. The fact that my race could be the subject of the scholarship was liberating and instructive. Acknowledging that race matters gave me a chance to search for pieces of myself that I am sometimes asked to leave hidden. Asante (1988) asserts that "afrocentricity is a transforming power which helps us to capture the sense of our souls" (p. 49). Meyers (1988) describes an afrocentric worldview by saying that "self is extended to include all of the ancestors, the yet unborn, all of nature, and the entire community" (p. 13). Afrocentricity was liberating and inspiring as it affirmed my identity and allowed the personal to be connected with the collective. As a design element, it was useful in helping me to derive meaning from lived experiences because, similar to feminist research, "subject"-ivity was required instead of "object"-ivity. The research journey itself, though, was led by the spirit and guided by a collaborative essence with numerous people from a variety of settings who served as inspirational "sages on the stage" and "guides on the side" as this research was initiated in 1997 and as it has evolved and continued into the year 2000.

In academic circles, the use of autobiography as a research tool is not so widespread. Within the academy, autobiography is generally reserved for use in the humanities and fields such as psychology and sociology where there is a predominant focus on lived experiences. Lejeune (1989) advises that autobiography is an appropriate source of information when people want to recount their life experiences, when teachers want to improve their practices and when people who are on a mission want to teach

others about something. Marshall and Rossman (1995) contend that "life history methodology emphasizes the value of a person's own story and provides pieces for a 'mosaic' or total picture of a concept" (p. 88). African American scholars have historically used autobiography for all of these purposes including the use of autobiography as an explicit tool not just for contemplation, but also for social change. Gates (1991) says that African Americans "published their individual histories in astonishing numbers, in a larger attempt to narrate the collective history of the race" (p. 4).

Since the African American story from an African American perspective has not necessarily been told over time in mainstream publications, the autobiographies of African Americans can be used as a mirror for American society to see itself more clearly from a different perspective. Butterfield (1974) characterizes African American autobiography as "both an arsenal and a battlefield". He insists that written autobiographies are "the embodiment of the black American experience" as African Americans struggle with an adversarial social order. (pp. 4, 285). These vital functions of African American autobiographies suggest that stories about people's lived experiences are wellsprings of information about humanity including political, social, cultural, economic, historical and educational phenomena. In this sense then, autobiography can be used as a sword and as a shield in the struggle to know and to do. Therefore, autobiography is not just a source of important information about one person's life, but it can also be used as a resource and a research tool for scholars who are interested in teaching to transform. Some specific uses of autobiography as a research tool for teaching and learning are explained in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

As an integral component of the research methodology, I conducted a critical contextual analysis of lived experiences by carefully reading more than 3,000 pages of the chosen autobiographies of six African American scholar-activists. The specific autobiographies included in the study were selected through purposeful sampling. The scholar-activists chosen for this aspect of the study were selected because of their stated

commitments to higher education, their prominence in the literature related to African Americans in higher education, and for the acclaim (and sometimes controversy) attributed to their careers, written life stories, oral presentations and accomplishments. The criteria for selection also included consideration for obtaining a degree of gender balance, for involving scholars who have attended historically black colleges and universities as well as predominantly white institutions and for spanning the time periods that African Americans have been involved with higher education.

Since the autobiographies were in many ways central to the research, the results of the con"text"ual analysis were used in a variety of ways to invigorate the study. Given this general criteria, some particular characteristics of the African American scholar-activists whose autobiographies were selected for the study are listed in Table 1. More in-depth descriptions and analysis of the lives of these scholar-activists, including the focus of their scholarship and activism and the various institutions of higher education that they attended, are included throughout the text of this document.

Table 1. Selected scholar-activists for contextual analysis by birth, death, gender, degree

Scholar-Activist	Birth	Death	Place of Birth	Gender	Degree
Alexander Crummell	1819	1898	New York	Male	Ph.D.
Anna Julia Cooper	1858	1964	North Carolina	Female	Ph.D.
W.E. B. DuBois	1868	1963	Massachusetts	Male	Ph.D.
Gloria Wade-Gayles	c. 1940	-----	Tennessee	Female	Ph.D.
Henry Louis Gates	1950	-----	West Virginia	Male	Ph.D.
bell hooks	c. 1955	-----	Kentucky	Female	Ph.D.

Autobiographical information about both Alexander Crummell and Anna Julia Cooper was gleaned from edited collections of their writings and several biographies because neither of them formally wrote an autobiography as such. Archival information about DuBois and Cooper allowed for an "up front and personal" look at their lives since some of the notes and letters that they wrote were clearly personal and not intended for publication. A few of the African American scholar-activists whom I read about earned degrees from institutions of higher learning outside of the United States. Most notably, Crummell earned his bachelor's degree in England and lived in Africa for a significant number of years. Crummell was awarded two doctorate degrees on an honorary basis. Cooper earned her doctorate degree when she was 62 years old. Astonishingly, Cooper lived to be 106 years old and she devoted her life to helping people of all ages to obtain a formal education. W.E.B. DuBois lived to be ninety-five years old and as a thoughtful and diligent scholar-activist, he wrote three autobiographies over the course of his life. Since DuBois is known as a leading scholar-activist over a long period of time, each autobiography was included in the study as well as some of his other publications. Gates, Wade-Gayles and hooks are living, breathing scholar-activists who are now teaching to transform. I sometimes thought about trying to contact them (so I could speak to them directly and fill in some of the details of their lives), but since my focus in this segment of the research was on written life stories, I decided to let their autobiographies and other writings speak for them. Reports about the timing of critical incidents for all of them and the birth dates listed for Wade-Gayles and hooks are approximated based on the literature review and their own written chronologies of childhood and college experiences.

I was eagerly drawn to the particular autobiographies of the scholar-activists listed above for a variety of reasons. Crummell was someone whom I casually read about and he was curiously referred to as a "learned scholar". I could not imagine what it must have been like to live in his time and to pursue a college degree when almost all African Americans were still slaves! I wanted to know what he thought, what he had to say and

how, in his lifetime, he took action to combat racism. Cooper was mentioned to me in passing as a respected African American feminist but I knew very little about her and I was curious to know more about how she viewed feminism in the light of racism and how she viewed the practice of teaching. Her life spanned more than 100 years and her particular reverence for womenhood and her passion for education clearly commanded my attention. I stumbled on Wade-Gayles' autobiography in a bookstore. As I read about her life I came to admire her keen insights about the spirit and the engaging way that she told her story about being "pushed back to strength". Gates is an African American scholar who has been in the spotlight and holds the position of Professor of the Humanities and Chair of the Department of Afro-American Studies at Harvard University. I did not have much knowledge about his life either but I knew that he had both studied and taught at Ivy League colleges. From his vantage point, I was interested in learning more about the challenges and choices that he has faced as well as his view of the role that he sees himself playing as an African American scholar-activist today. hooks' scholarship was introduced to me in a course entitled "Effective College Teaching". I completed this course as a part of my doctoral studies and I was most intrigued by hooks' self-described cultural views of the classroom including her assertion about the role and responsibility that faculty should have to "transgress". hooks' particular focus on pedagogy, race and relationship building are especially salient to this study involving African Americans who teach to transform.

In most cases, I selectively supplemented the written autobiographies with different publications written by the scholar-activists, photographs, films, and other pertinent documents about their lives. However, since I was most interested in the first person accounts of what the scholar-activists had to say about themselves, the world we live in, teaching and transformation, I used the published autobiographies as the primary and authoritative source of information about the personal and professional lives of the scholar-activists. Excerpts from the autobiographies were organized and coded according to the following general themes:

1) the nature, purposes and results of scholarly pursuits
2) activist stances and the use of scholarly positions
3) the influence of higher education on identity development and activism
4) spirit-based teaching and research philosophies and practices

Through a critical reading of the autobiographies, I learned about the personal experiences of these scholars, the impact of higher education on their lives and the ways that scholarship influenced their activism. African American cultural traditions were certainly an important influence on the lives of these scholars, and they were nurtured by the teaching and learning process. This study illuminates some of the clear connections between the scholar-activists' educational pursuits, their decisions to become educators and their cultural heritage. Two theories about African American identity development were used to compare and contrast the scholar-activists' movement through the various stages of development in their lives. Although these linear theories were prescriptive and limited in nature, tracing the lived experiences through theoretical frameworks for the development of African American identity did illuminate some of the dilemmas and triumphs that the scholar-activists faced as they navigated through their environments and personalized meaning to develop their leadership abilities and potentials. The life stories of these scholar-activists are engrossing, varied and informative. Detailed results of the critical contextual analysis are described and discussed more fully in subsequent chapters.

Yet another source of knowledge and wisdom for the study was the data collected by eliciting the oral narratives of two contemporary African American scholar-activists--one male and one female--through phenomenological interviewing. Rubin and Rubin (1995) assert that "qualitative interviewing is a way of finding out what others feel and think about their worlds...it helps explain how and why culture is created, evolves, and is maintained" (pp. 1-3). This was an important part of the research process because speaking, listening, looking--indeed interacting with contemporary African American scholar-activists-- gave me a chance to raise questions and receive answers that could not

be addressed by critically reading about the lives of others. The specific participants for the oral narratives were selected based on their reputations for excellence within higher education and their familiarity to me. While I have had the opportunity to work in the same higher education environment with each of these two scholar-activists, I never before had an opportunity to speak with them one on one or to listen directly to stories about their life experiences. Each of the participants for the oral narratives was given a copy of the research proposal and then they both consented orally and in writing to participate in the study. While they were each offered the option of using a pseudonym for the report, neither participant chose to exercise this option.

Using the African American tradition of storytelling as an educational resource, I conducted a series of interviews with Dr. Ruth Simmons, President of Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, and Dr. Randolph Bromery, currently a consultant in higher education and someone who has held numerous positions from geologist to teacher to chancellor to president. Both of these scholar-activists are highly respected within higher education and they were gracious in extending themselves to be participants in this phase of the research project. Both participants for the oral narratives have served as teachers within higher education but their primary focus has been in administrative positions. Interactions for the oral narratives involved two separate one hour interviews with each of the participants. While I entered into the conversations with some initial questions concerning the scholar-activists' upbringing and their motivations for being involved with higher education, the interview format was loosely structured to allow the participants to tell their stories in whatever way they chose. The sessions were tape recorded and the oral narratives and transcripts of the interviews were coded to provide data that could be compared and contrasted with the data collected from the written autobiographies and other phases of the study. While I used the transcripts as a point of reference, I also listened intently to the tapes of the oral narratives as a way of truly and clearly experiencing the "voices" and "personas" of the selected scholar-activists.

Peterson (1997) asserts that oral narrative traditions are part of African American culture. She says that "African American storytellers, teachers, and preachers have traditionally relied on their skills of interpretation to communicate complex ideas to their listeners. The ability of a speaker to 'break it down' is considered a gift" (p. 159). During this interactive phase of the study, I listened to the authentic voices of these two scholar-activists as they shared expressions and told stories that were vivid and insightful. They each skillfully "broke down" the influence that higher education has had on their lives and the many ways that they have influenced higher education by using scholarship for the purposes of social change. The stories told made connections to the lives described in the autobiographies and they also shed some light on how scholarship for social change manifests itself in the realm of administration. Vaz (1997) says that "oral narrative research, whether at home or abroad, leads to powerful transformative experiences for researchers. It can extend and broaden our identities; it can refashion our hopes and dreams, our very ideas about what is possible" (p. 248). The life stories of these scholar-activists were indeed informative and inspirational. Excerpts and lessons learned from the oral narratives are woven throughout this report.

In another phase of the research, two members of my immediate and extended family from different generations participated in the study by telling their stories about how college affected their lives. I visited my infamous uncle, Alton Joseph, who is a college graduate living in Moss Point, Mississippi--my father's hometown and a place that I had not visited for more than fifteen years. While I was there, I tape recorded a two hour interview with my uncle as he told me his life story related to his experience of being the only one of my father's nine siblings to graduate from college. He also offered me details about his involvement with higher education as a student and his accomplishments as a member of the teaching profession. Although initially planned as a part of the research process, the trip to Mississippi clearly encompassed more than the formal part of my research since it naturally led to many unexpected encounters and outcomes.

For example, it was not a part of the original research design, but I had the opportunity to talk informally with several other members of my family who spontaneously initiated conversations about their perceptions of my uncle's achievements as a college graduate and other such matters. They shared family stories about the high expectations and support provided by various family members--especially my grandparents. A really touching moment for me was when one of my aunts, who is considered to be the family historian, spent two hours taking me to family home sites (there is even a street named Joseph Avenue) and the local cemeteries where she pointed out the graves of many of my ancestors while sharing genealogical information. I used this as an opportunity to learn more about my ancestry by imagining what it would have been like to grow up in Mississippi and by recording the dates of births and deaths of various relatives--both African Americans and Whites. Impressions about this and other related experiences are recorded in my journals and represented in this report.

An hour long tape recorded interview with my twenty-three year old son, Kamari Collins, was also revealing and inspirational. I asked Kamari, who is a recent college graduate, some specific questions about his motivations for attending college and his aspirations to teach. One might think that such a conversation between a mother and son would be natural and commonplace. However, my experience was that without his participation in this formal research study, we might not have ever shared the information and understanding that was developed as a result of the interview. Kamari's views about the purpose and value of the collegiate experience were reflective of his generation and also instructive in terms of the various aspects of higher education that can potentially be transformative. The details of these familial interactions are also woven throughout this dissertation report. To provide for member checks as suggested by Patton (1980), each of the formal interview participants, including the participant of the pilot study, were given copies of the entire dissertation report with highlighted references to any statements that were related to the results of their specific interviews. Informed consent for relatives and

the participant in the pilot study were by their choice verbal and none of the participants chose the option of using a pseudonym.

As another part of the data collection phase, I conducted an expansive literature review about the nature and the process of transformation, the cultural traditions of African Americans as a race of people and the historical development of American higher education. The resources available for the literature review were tremendous. While the literature review for this study should not be considered as exhaustive, it did include a wide range of materials that informed various aspects of the research. I was able to narrow the actual review by establishing five categories of readings: teaching; African American history and culture; the history of higher education; religious and spiritual development; and research methodologies. The readings were interspersed with and often in reaction to other phases of the research. In this way, the focus of the literature review shifted with the nature of the questions being asked and/or the data being collected. For example, when I learned about the influence of family in particular scholar-activists' lives, I searched the literature for research about African American families. When I encountered public policy questions, I searched the literature about higher education's role in the decision-making process. The results of this wide ranging literature review are presented throughout the study including references to the literature in the findings, discussion and conclusions.

Finally, the research process focused on my own ideas, knowledge, feelings and reflections. Throughout the data gathering phases and in concert with the naturalistic and iterative nature of the qualitative research process, I maintained two journals--one to record personal insights about the subject of African American scholar-activists as teachers within higher education and another to record insights and impressions about the unfolding research process so I could document the transformative nature of qualitative research. The records that I kept about the research process helped me to identify discoveries, questions, concerns, influences and biases that I became aware of throughout my work. I also reflected on and gave voice to some of my own experiences in higher

education by reading past journals, reviewing other personal documents, and writing several autobiographical sketches that highlight my roles as a student, teacher, administrator and community activist within higher education. Writing about my own life story has given me insight, heightened my awareness of the autobiographical process and aligned my role as a researcher with the lives of the scholar-activists whom I studied.

Living coincidentally through the research process generated other scholarly experiences that helped me to learn about African Americans and higher education. For instance, during the study period, I attended the National Black Family Summit in South Carolina, including a stop in Wilmington, North Carolina, to tour a slave ship and plantation. I also attended a scholarly conference in Washington, D.C., which focused on the role of African American women as servants and leaders in the academy. Both events were sponsored by institutions of higher education and involved the presentation of research papers written by African American scholars. I was also inspired to watch the entire Eyes on the Prize (1987, 1990) film series produced by Blackside, Inc. which chronicles the story of African Americans' direct action to gain civil rights from 1954 to the mid-1980s. It was visually, spiritually, emotionally and intellectually stimulating. The music that I listened to--jazz, gospel, soul and more--as background for planning, reading and writing was also a stimulating part of the research process. Reflections about all of these experiences are included in my journals and are interspersed throughout this report.

Beyond this, to incorporate ideas about the physical environment of college campuses and classrooms, I took photographs and recorded notes from field observations involved with visits to five college campuses--Yale University, Smith College, the University of Massachusetts, Dillard University and Springfield College. My visit to Dillard University in New Orleans, Louisiana, was stirred by Ruth Simmons' recollections of the positive environment that nurtured her leadership talents. This visit was also significant because I was accompanied by my mother and my father's sister who is eighty years old and has a daughter who, I later learned, graduated in the same class as Ruth

Simmons.While reading the autobiographies of W.E.B. DuBois and learning about his impressions of how growing up in New England impacted on his life, I drove to Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and spent a summer day enjoying the Berkshires. No one whom I stopped to talk to in the town seemed to know who DuBois was or where I might find his homestead so I just wandered around and took in the atmosphere. Being there helped me to make connections with DuBois' written word and his persona which were influenced by his childhood experiences in New England. Some of the photographs from these field visits are presented in the appendix.

The wealth of data collected from all phases of the study was organized and analyzed in multiple ways. In practice, sorting through the data was not an easy task given the volume of information that was generated through the process and the "quality" of the research experience itself. Nevertheless, I maintained color-coded files about the life of each scholar-activist studied and used a scheme of color-coded post-it-notes to identify the themes in the literature review and the interview transcripts. The results of the pilot study were also used to generate themes for sorting the data. Given the breadth and depth of the data collected, this study could easily be expanded and developed to produce even greater understanding of the themes presented. As I considered the purposes and contexts of the study, five critical dimensions of lived experiences that compel teaching and transformation and seven ways that higher education can be used for the purposes of personal and social transformation were identified to facilitate not just contemplation, but also action.

When photographs are developed, the pictures are made visible by placing them in chemicals and hanging them up to dry. Similarly, I believe that the meaning of things in our world are made visible when we place them in the context of research and hold them up for further scrutiny. Therefore, the importance of studying research itself as a process for developing human potential cannot be overstated. I have used the data collected in this study to draw some conclusions about research itself, including how the qualitative

research process can be used as an empowerment tool, how autobiography can be used for the purposes of research and how afrocentricity, feminist theory and critical pedagogy can inform scholarship and teaching methodology. I have learned that research methodology is about scholarship and activism. If we do not examine the medium, then the message can be obscure, the truth can be distorted and action can be denied. The results and conclusions of all of the data collected and ideas generated through this study are presented in Chapters 2 through 5 in the spirit of teaching for transformation.

Limitations of the Study

Every study has some limitations and this one is no exception. As an African American educator who views human development as a catalyst and resource for change, I asked the research questions that guided this study with a sincere desire to know and to understand better the latent power of "higher" education. The limitations of this particular study include the fact that I focused almost exclusively on the personal lives of twelve selected African American scholar-activists, including myself, who have been involved with higher education in various contexts. As it stands, this study only touches on the lives of the selected scholar-activists. An expanded timeframe for the study, a modified focus on the participants' lives and a different size or type of cohort selected for the study would most likely produce a different set of results with regard to the research questions.

The study is delimited too by a specific focus on issues of race as it relates to higher education and the personal and social transformation in the lives of the participants of the study. The race of the participants was a prominent and special feature of the research because much of the scholar-activists' struggle and scholarship was in direct response to the racism that they faced and the ways that they responded to it. In this research report, the terms Black, black, Negro, colored and African American are used interchangeably to refer to people of African descent living in America. The use of a particular term to describe race and skin color (including whether or not it is capitalized) is

dictated by the authors who are cited, the historical time period being discussed and my own preference for the use of the term African American. This study acknowledges that African Americans, as well as other groups, are often spoken of as if they are monolithic and this is clearly not the case. Within this study, African Americans are treated as a group with similarities and cultural connections, however, there is also some evidence presented about the variations among African Americans in terms of their thoughts, actions and experiences.

In addition, some people consider those who have graduated from college, particularly those with an advanced degree, as "elites" who represent a particular outlook on the world apart from and often distinct from the masses (Frazier, 1957; Thompson, 1986). Higher education can clearly influence a person's life in terms of his or her thinking, doing and being. Credentials can also lead to social mobility. As such, class issues are indeed a consideration and this study could also have been accomplished from the perspective of class, especially from the vantage point of those who did not attend college. Their life stories are probably equally as engaging and instructive. Indeed issues of class, gender, economics, and politics did surface often and inform the study, but the specific focus on and inclusion of information about these aspects of American life were analyzed and reported on a limited basis and only in relationship to the impact and meanings attached to scholarship and activism as indicated by the participants in the study.

A different research methodology might also yield a different result. A change in the qualitative research design or the use of more quantitative research would probably give us some alternative perspectives about the research topic. For example, case studies might allow for more in-depth information about any one of the scholar-activists or specific types of institutions of higher education represented in this study. Quantitative research would allow for more breadth as a greater number of scholar-activists could have been included in the study through research methodologies involving surveys and other statistical analyses. Also, while this study was intentionally done from an educational

vantage point, it could certainly be undertaken from a political, economic, legal, social, religious or cultural view as well to yield even deeper and broader meaning for those interested in African Americans, higher education, teaching and transformation.

Within this research project, there is a purposeful focus on the spiritual nature and inherent strengths of African American culture. By limiting the study to the more positive aspects of African American life, I may have missed some of the lessons that can be learned from studying the deficits and the weaknesses of the culture. The idea of this study was not to romanticize African Americans' struggle or to deny the problems inherent in the culture. Instead the intent was to acknowledge the triumphs along with the trials. Since there already exists a plethora of research studies and literature that feature the litany of ills and failures that plague the lives of African Americans, I did not seek to add to this morass. Instead, I want this study to be included with the body of knowledge that is being developed about the African American experience from the standpoint of human resilience and human discovery. If viewed within the parameters of the study, and with consideration for the universal nature of the human experience, one might concede that despite the limitations, the study has some specific relevance to educators and it may also prove to be of value to others such as politicians and executives who want to proactively pursue change strategies in higher education.

In terms of ethical considerations, Harrison and Lyon (1993) remind us that autobiographical research always involves others because the self is usually defined in relationship to other people, organizations and institutions. They warn that the researcher must be aware of "other social actors either by inclusion or exclusion" (p. 106). Other "social actors" in this study include various institutions of learning, teachers and administrators who are mentioned in relationship to my own and others' personal experiences. Some institutions of higher education have been identified by name and some people have been identified by name only to the extent that various authors have already written about them. The choices I made about who to include and who to exclude in the

study are reflective of my own interest in learning more about the scholar-activists selected for this study who represent different generations and vantage points. Therefore, this research positively includes my own personal biases about who might be considered as a scholar-activist and how their lives should be interpreted. The research design is also reflective of my personal interests and experiences with teaching and research. Therefore, the methodology itself can certainly be viewed as having elements of bias and subjectivity. Cotterill and Letherby (1993) point out that "putting the self in the research may be viewed as selfish over-indulgence" (p. 75). But they emphatically conclude that when the researcher clearly identifies that self is integral to the research process, then the researcher has the opportunity to think differently and to benefit personally from the research. My experience with this research project bears witness to this assertion.

Significance of the Study

This study was instructive, inspirational and relevant to my life therefore, despite limitations, its significance to me personally is infinite. Most studies of African American educators focus on teachers in the primary and secondary school systems (Foster, 1997; Hale, 1994; Hale-Benson, 1982; Ladson-Billings, 1994). These are important studies because the early years of a person's formal schooling experience can impact significantly on their life chances and choices, including whether they will be prepared to go to college and whether they will become scholar-activists. The primary and secondary levels of education are also where the predominant number of African Americans have gained teaching experience. Other studies that examine the history of African American scholars do so from the standpoint of their overall responsibility to the African American struggle for human rights and their contributions to the development of American democracy (Banks, 1996; Cruse, 1969; Russell, 1998; Sekayi, 1997). These studies are also important because knowledge of the larger context is essential to an understanding of self, the path that we have already traveled and the road that we may decide to take in the future.

In most studies, the term scholar is often used interchangeably with the term intellectual to refer broadly to people in the arts, religion, science, politics, community development, education and more. Person-Lynn (1996) interviewed noted African American educators who he termed scholar/activists meaning that they "are scholars of knowledge as well as scholars of struggle". He concluded that scholar/activists "ignite our consciousness and help us to transcend beyond mediocrity" (p. xii). Sekayi (1997) studied the life histories of eleven African American educators who she termed as intellectual-activists. Although Sekayi's focus was not on teachers in higher education per se, her study clearly identified nationalism and cultural pride as components of teaching and activism. For the purposes of this study, a scholar-activist is specifically defined as someone who has obtained a series of degrees (including a doctorate) through formal schooling, has used higher education as a vehicle for transformation and has dedicated his or her life to the enterprise of teaching and learning both inside of and outside of the classroom and in connection with higher education.

Transformation is defined as progressive change. Succinctly, a scholar-activist then is someone who teaches others and who serves as a leader who takes action for the purpose of transformation within the realm of "higher" education. Dyson (1996) highlights the role of public intellectuals and points to the need for greater concentration on extraordinary scholars involved specifically with higher education when he says, "much of the attention has been given to those black intellectuals who have managed to find--and hog--the public spotlight. Less attention has been paid to their cohort in universities for whom the classroom and careful scholarship is enough" (p. 57). The notion of teaching in this study has been defined broadly to extend beyond the classroom and to encompass administration and community organization. This expanded definition was used to embrace African American cultural expectations that the term scholar-activist be used to generally denote someone who teaches others through scholarship and who also serves as a leader who takes direct action in various arenas for the purpose of African Americans'

liberation. In terms of other significant parameters for the study, Sekayi (1997) discovered that spirituality (and not necessarily organized religion as such) played a critical role in the leadership development and actions of the intellectual-activists she studied. The idea of spirituality as a component of leadership development is significant to this study as well. Thus, the particular definition of transformative leadership used in this study embraces the faith that some people put in spiritual forces that are thought and felt to be present in the universe. The descriptions, assumptions and manifestations of spirit that are represented herein are clearly personal, but they also connect with a larger representation of spirit that is inherent in Christianity and African American culture. The true significance of spirit in this study is as Palmer (1983) suggests in the title of his book, education is "a spiritual journey to know as we are known".

Finally, it should be understood that telling the story of African Americans does not negate or diminish the stories of others who share distinct and universal human experiences. What the African American experience in particular can teach us is why transformation of our society is so necessary and how we can achieve it through faith in education. One implication of this study is that if we can understand how scholarship contributes to personal and social transformation, then perhaps we can develop a structure and curriculum framework in higher education that can deliberately prepare scholar-activists for the leadership challenges and opportunities associated with personal transformation and social change. The significance of this study is that it can be used to help people be more explicit and purposeful in using higher education as a vehicle for developing self knowledge and as a driving force for social change. It can also be useful to people who are interested in knowing more about African Americans, scholarship, teaching, higher education, transformation, and qualitative research as an empowerment tool. This study will be of particular interest to leaders who want to know more about how to draw out the inherent power of education for the purpose of meeting the needs of humanity in the present and the future.

Organization of the Study

Beyond the introduction which forms Chapter 1, this study is organized into four other chapters that converge around different themes. The discussion, results and findings of the study are woven throughout each of the chapters so that the results of the literature review, critical contextual analysis, the interviews, the autobiographical sketches and the field notes all complement and build upon each other to develop our understanding of teaching and transformation. In Chapter 2, the legacy of African Americans as teachers is examined through a chronology of African Americans' historic involvement in higher education and their experiences with the teaching profession. The chronology focuses heavily on the legal and public policy aspects of African Americans involvement in higher education because the law clearly defined the parameters and dictated the timing of African Americans' experiences.

The individual scholar-activists included in the study are introduced in this chapter according to the time periods that they were born (and in some cases died) and the eras that they entered into higher education as teachers and students. In several ways, activist stances taken by particular scholar-activists and their educational philosophies are briefly highlighted in this chapter to place their actions in historical context and to recognize the prominence of their contributions to the development of higher education and American society. In Chapter 2, the meaning of both personal and social transformation is explained in the context of the spiritual dimension of life and in terms of the cultural significance and contributions of African American scholar-activists to higher education. The chronology, introductions, definitions and explanations are offered in this chapter to anchor the study. Chapter 2 is relatively lengthy because it provides the foundation for the details of the scholar-activists' life stories and explains the significance of naming African American teachers as scholar-activists.

Chapter 3 includes more detailed descriptions of the life stories of all of the scholar-activists studied and presents some comparisons between their lives based on gender, geography, generation, scholarship and career goals. It is worth noting again that since all of the scholar-activists have lived diverse, full and fruitful lives, the reports of their lives as offered in this document are only glimpses of their stories, characters and contributions. Each one of the scholar-activists' lives presented herein merits a complete and full study of its own. Nevertheless, the similarities and differences of so many life stories yields a rich tapestry to behold and the effect is heartwarming for the mind, body and spirit. In this chapter, I also used the data collected to identify and provide rationale for five critical dimensions of teaching and transformation which have been determined and are discussed in light of the strengths of African American family and community; the connections between African American culture and education; and the role of higher education in developing the scholars' identities as activists. These five dimensions of teaching and transformation are presented as ingredients for fortifying our cultural armor in the midst of a war for the minds and spirits of future generations.

Chapter 4 expands on the introductory discussion of the research methodology to highlight ways that autobiography can be used a research tool and qualitative research as a transformative process. Reflections about the research process itself, including the results of my own subjective observations, are offered along with some conclusions about the relationships between scholarship and teaching. This chapter also includes an explanation of how afrocentricity, feminism and critical pedagogy can be combined to produce a teaching and research methodology that honors the culture of African Americans, acknowledges the role of women and demands progressive action. Through a discussion of research as an empowerment tool, I contend that the chemistry involved with helping people to think critically and to develop their knowledge of self and others through higher education can actually produce some chain reactions that might lead to needed social change.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I summarize some of the lessons learned from this qualitative research study. The lessons learned are presented in the context of the role of education in the fulfillment of American democracy and for the purpose of providing knowledge and wisdom that can inform decisions about the development of structures and curricula within higher education so that teaching and learning can be improved. The seven general strategies outlined and discussed in this chapter are offered as ways to ensure that "higher" education is an institution within American society that can move us toward the best of humanity by being a catalyst for social change. The suggestions that I make in this chapter for further research are designed to stimulate supplemental and complementary inquiry about the nature of teaching and transformation. I hope that this study will be informative and encouraging to people who are committed to "truth and justice for all".

CHAPTER 2

THE LEGACY OF AFRICAN AMERICANS AS TEACHERS

Historical Development of African Americans in Higher Education

The history of African Americans' involvement in higher education closely follows the history of the United States as it relates to the institution of slavery and the practice of racism from the standpoints of public policy, legal requirements, economic forces, religious beliefs and social customs. Throughout the history of America, people with white skin have been more highly valued, given more opportunity and granted more privilege than African Americans solely based on the color of their skin. My perspective about democracy in North America has been conceived and nurtured from the margins of society. Therefore, contemplations and conclusions about how to promote the ideals of democracy by using the power of higher education must be intricately woven with an understanding of the way that racism, sexism and classism have affected the nation's development. The primary focus of my inquiry into the development of higher education as an institution in American society and African Americans' involvement with it was on gathering information about race as a historical, social, economic, cultural and psychological factor. Of course, issues of sexism and classism are closely related to race within higher education and society so there is also some discussion of these problems woven throughout the study. However, race is viewed as the heart of the matter.

The Law as Fertilizer

The founding documents of the nation--the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence--all describe the ideals of liberty, equality, justice and inalienable rights. Yet, the public policies and actions of most institutions and the attitudes and actions of many people toward African Americans, women and other groups, clearly

and forcefully contradict these ideals. From its inception, democracy American style has dictated that the human and civil rights of some people should be usurped and minimized on a systematic, institutional, community, group and individual basis. The nation's formal laws, policies, programs and practices have given rise to a democracy founded on faulty, sinister and too often violent notions and actions based on race. In truth, America has a legacy of producing a democracy with gross *inequalities* (Collins, 1996; Lopez, 1996; Sarat, 1997). Given my view from the margin, it is sometimes difficult to salute the often misrepresented virtues of American democracy and higher education. Nevertheless, I must go on record and confess that I am proud to be an African *and* an American *and* a college graduate. This study examines the nexus between these lived experiences.

Through the lens of the collective and individual experiences of African Americans in higher education, one can clearly see how higher education has been built on a foundation of racism and how, as an institution, it has served as a pillar for American "democracy" and capitalism. Paradoxically, one can also see how higher education has served as a driving force in the development of the nation and as a contributor to the liberation of African Americans. When the first institution of higher education in America, Harvard College, was established in 1636, it was designed to serve the interests of an elite, Protestant, ruling class by training its white male offspring to be the future leaders for the colony. Like Harvard, the other early American colleges reflected the culture of a narrow group of elites who could build a society that would meet their needs for control and comfort. Boyer (1987) describes the initial intent of higher education when he states that "America's first colleges were guided by a vision of coherence. The goal was to train not only the clergy, but a new civic leadership as well...the goal was to discipline the mind through such training, graduates were to move comfortably into prestigious professions- the clergy, business, medicine, law, and civic leadership" (p. 60-61). Thus, the mission of higher education was clear and the population to be served was delineated.

Descendants from Africa and the native people of America were also living in the country at the time, but the opportunities for leadership that Boyer refers to were not intended to meet their needs or to serve their interests. Initially then, higher education was clearly not established to develop the leadership capacity of African Americans or other groups. Asante (1996) plainly notes the exclusion of African Americans from higher education when he says, "it originated in denial of the African and indigenous people and was not designed to educate them, for often in the curricula were the seeds of white supremacy, not multiculturalism" (p. 23). In fact, the reason that we have a group of colleges and universities within the field of higher education today known as historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) is that Americans have used the law as fertilizer for seeds of racism to divide humanity and higher education. HBCUs, as legally separate institutions based on race, are symbols of injustice because their existence is rooted in racist laws, ideologies, policies, and practices that have been forever prevalent in higher education and American society.

Despite the seeds of racism which have been firmly planted in America and fertilized by the law, African Americans have used higher education as a battleground for challenging and struggling against the contradictions inherent in the American way and as a passport for the liberation of African American people. The historic struggle to transform the institution of higher education to serve the needs of African Americans and the deep faith that African Americans have placed in education are legendary tales. By recounting the history of this struggle and understanding the essence of the faith of our ancestors, we give honor to those who forged a path toward justice and also gain insight into ways that higher education might genuinely serve African Americans and others in the future. The story has to start from the nation's beginning, account for African Americans' origins, and pay tribute to African Americans for the many contributions made to the development of higher education and America.

When the nation was founded, the ideological (spiritual) and legal (temporal) seeds of racism sown into American soil were nurtured with ignorance, oppression and violence. Stories about the dilemmas and dangers that African Americans have faced as a result of the slave system and racism have been passed down among African Americans from generation to generation. Africans were transformed and later became known as "Blacks" and African Americans when they were initially brought to America in large numbers beginning in the 1600s to serve as slave labor for White landowners and capitalists. While there were some free Blacks living in the North, most Blacks were living in bondage in the Southern states. According to the law, slaves were legally classified as property and not as human beings. In the United States Constitution which was ratified in 1788, the founding fathers worked out a political and moral compromise that defined a Black person as three-fifths human. Religious doctrine and scholarship based on the supremacy of one race over another helped to promote racism. From the beginning then, Black people's rights as human beings and as citizens have been consciously abducted and diminished by the laws and the customs of White people in the country (Franklin, 1947; Fleming, 1976, Smith, E., 1979).

Education as a Tool for Liberation

From the mid-1600s to the Civil War, public policy and private actions forcefully allowed a cruel form of slavery to flourish and America enjoyed the economic fruits of free black labor. African Americans in bondage sought after the means to free themselves--collectively and individually-- and they chose to pursue education despite their adverse circumstances because they believed that knowledge was the power needed for liberation. Scholarship reveals that teaching and learning were coveted and courage was required within the culture for those interested in pursuing education had to fight against the odds. Fleming (1976) reports that, in terms of formal education for African Americans, "most southerners reasoned that 'teaching may easily awaken independent ideas in the minds of

the pupil'. Therefore, many state officials acted to protect themselves against rebellion and conspiracy by keeping Negroes in ignorance" (p. 13). Slaveholders made it a practice to keep the slaves in chains--physically and mentally. Humphries (1994) vividly describes African Americans' limited access to education and the danger involved with pursuing an education during slavery when he says,

> In 1619 we came to this country, slaves out of Africa. From 1619-1850 very little education was offered to the slave. If you lived in that period and learned to read, the slave masters cut your hands off. And if you were articulate, they cut your tongues out. Education and the science of education were not to be tolerated (p. 57).

Litwack (1998) underscores the point that Southern Whites (and even some African Americans) viewed education as a dangerous tool in the hands of African Americans. He describes perceptions about the ways that education could transform the lives of African Americans, and he alludes to the historic struggles that African Americans engaged in to obtain formal schooling when he states that,

> the slave South had thought it critical to prevent black men and women from acquiring even the bare essentials of learning. Knowledge encouraged independence and free thought. Knowledge opened up new vistas, introduced people to a larger world than the local town and country. Knowledge permitted workers to calculate earnings and expenditures. These were sufficient incentives for whites to maintain black illiteracy--or to place clear limits on how much knowledge blacks should acquire and to make certain it was the right kind of knowledge imparted by the right kind of teachers. Forbidden by antebellum laws and custom from learning to read and write, enslaved black men and women sensed the importance of these skills by the very vehemence with which whites enforced prohibition, the extraordinary measures whites adopted to criminalize black literacy and to insulate blacks from intellectual contamination (p. 52-53).

Therefore, while some elements of the larger community, especially people in Southern states, openly discouraged and even forbid African Americans from being educated, African Americans invested strong faith in education as a tool for liberation. Formal schooling was something that African Americans valued highly and strived relentlessly to obtain (Franklin, 1947; Franklin, V.P. 1984).

Alexander Crummell is known as someone who strived hard for formal schooling and for the eventual fulfillment of democratic ideals. He was born in 1819 to free African Americans living in New York City. Moses (1989) reports that Crummell's father was a direct descendant of a chief from West Africa near Sierra Leone and that his father was kidnapped and brought to America when he was about 13 years old. Crummell's mother was a free black woman who was born in America and who had some close association with the Quakers in New York. While his father's occupation was listed in a directory as an "oysterman", Crummell actually grew up in a family that was associated with some of the leading African American intellectuals of the day. One of those people was John Russworm. Russworm is widely reported to be one of the first known persons of African American descent to graduate from college. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1826 and went on to be a founder of the Freedom Journal, the first black newspaper in the United States. According to Moses (1989), the meeting held to begin publication of the newspaper took place in the Crummell home.

Several other African Americans graduated from northern colleges in the 1800s including Edward Jones, who as the very first African American college graduate, received a bachelor's degree from Amherst College shortly before Russworm in 1826. However, despite the fact that the American institution of higher education had been thriving and serving others for more than 200 years, higher education for African Americans was still definitely an anomaly. In the early 1800s, Crummell's father helped to establish the African Free School in New York and Alexander was a student there in addition to attending a high school and learning from private tutors arranged for by his father. As a young man,

Crummell later decided to pursue a career in the ministry and, like most people interested in this profession, he applied to a seminary for study. In 1837, his application for admission was rejected because of his race. Although he was frustrated by the rejection, Crummell went on to study with some sympathetic White Episcopal theologians in New England and later in 1844 was ordained a minister by a Bishop from Delaware. Yet, as a practicing minister, higher education remained a goal for Crummell and his rejection from America's formal education system was a motivating force for Crummell's growth and development as a nationalist and an advocate for African Americans' human rights. (Banks, 1996; Moses, 1989). Of this experience, Crummell said,

> At an early period in my boyhood, stimulated by the catechising of my paster, Rev. Peter Williams, then Rector at St. Philip's Church, New York, and kindled, as I well remember, by a sermon by Doctor (afterwards the Right Rev. Bishop) Whittingham, I determined to prepare for holy orders. There was not then a single college or seminary in the United States that would receive a black youth. It was a day of deep darkness and tribulation for the Negro race in this land. The pro-slavery and caste spirit dominated the country (Moses, 1992; p. 32).

Crummell was disheartened but not defeated by his attempts to gain higher education in America. Moses (1989) says that "it was the anti-intellectualism of America, combined with the hostility to black education, that first set him thinking about going abroad for an education, at least as early as 1839" (p.50). Crummell was invited to England by a retired tutor from Oxford's Lincoln College. He studied at Queens' College of Cambridge University and received his B.A. degree in 1853. Crummell was reluctant to return to the United States and so he went from England to Liberia, West Africa, where he lived for sixteen years working as a farmer, educator, small businessman, and Episcopal missionary. Crummell later received honorary doctorate degrees from Lincoln University and Liberia University (Moses, 1992).

Some collective gains for African Americans were made in 1854 when Ashmun Institute (later known as Lincoln University) was founded for the education of African Americans in Pennsylvania. In 1856, when the first historically black college or university (HBCU), Wilberforce University in Ohio, was technically established, slavery had been a legally sanctioned practice in the United States for about 240 years. This historically black institution of higher education, which is named after William Wilberforce, an English abolitionist and philanthropist, was initially founded by the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to educate the mulatto children of the Southern slave owners. The Dred Scott legal decision, which was handed down by the Supreme Court in 1857, had declared that Black people, by virtue of the color of their skin, had "no rights that the White man was bound to respect". Accordingly, the custom of the time and public policy called for the physical and social separation of the races. Wilberforce, then, became a part of higher education but it was chartered as a "Negro college" separate from other colleges and its overall mission was to train teachers and preachers for the purpose of maintaining a separate Negro society (Franklin, 1947; Holmes, 1934).

In the midst of slavery, Anna Julia (Hayward) Cooper was born to enslaved parents in North Carolina (although Cooper has intimated that her real father was a slavemaster). Her exact birth date is thought by others to be between 1858-1860 and in her obituary, her birth year is represented as 1858. Cooper devoted her life to educational pursuits and in a rare autobiographical sketch she chooses to describe her mother by making reference to her mother's educational status. Cooper notes the fact that her mother received no formal schooling but still sought to know and to learn. Her written statement emits a sense of pride in her mother's educational pursuits and Cooper's description of her parents is revealing of slave-master relationships, family ties and educational pursuits during the Civil War era. She writes,

> I was born in Raleigh, North Carolina. My mother was a slave and the finest woman I have ever known. Tho untutored she could read her Bible and write a little. It is one of my happiest childhood memories explaining for her the subtle differences between q's and g's or between b's and I's. Presumably my father was her master; if so I owe him not a sou and she was always too modest and shamefaced ever to mention him (Lemert & Bhan 1998; p. 331).

In 1863 when the Emancipation Proclamation was signed into law declaring that slaves were to be free people and not property, the distinct need for colleges and universities to educate African Americans grew tremendously. According to DuBois (1935), there were approximately 4 million Blacks living in the Southern states at that time and education was desired by Black people as a way of uplifting the race. He reported that "the very feeling of inferiority which slavery forced upon them fathered an intense desire to rise out of their condition by means of education" (p. 638). Franklin (1947) said that "in every community free Negroes were studying, with an apparent belief that education would solve some of their problems" (p. 230). V.P. Franklin (1984) clearly and concisely describes the motivation of African Americans in pursuing education when he says,

> During the antebellum era, education and literacy were greatly valued among Afro-Americans enslaved in the United States because they saw in their day-to-day experiences--from one generation to the next--that knowledge and information helped one to survive in a hostile environment. In numerous ways, Afro-Americans came to understand that wisdom and knowledge were associated with freedom (p. 161).

During the Reconstruction Period (circa 1860-1880) directly after the Civil War, the nation was struggling with profound change; this was precisely the period when the majority of HBCUs were being created in American society. Ideas about what society wanted and who had the right and the power to make decisions concerning what was right and what was wrong for America (and African Americans) were being debated by many

people. There were former slaves, former slaveholders and abolitionists. There were southerners and northerners. There were rich and there were poor. But when it came to questions about higher education for African Americans, there were four major advocates and providers who helped to establish separate colleges and universities for African Americans. These forces were the federal government, Christian missionary organizations, philanthropists, and African Americans themselves. The establishment of separate institutions of higher education generally occurred before the formal establishment of a system of primary and secondary schools. The fact that the colleges were founded as separate institutions reflected the laws and social customs of the times. Each of the groups instrumental in founding the colleges had a specific intent for their actions (Bullock, 1967; Holmes, 1934).

Higher education for African Americans was especially a matter of concern to abolitionists and Christian organizations who, with pious intent, wanted to insure that Blacks would be able to make a living for themselves and act responsibly given their newly granted "freedom" from slavery. Religious missionaries supported the education of African Americans by raising money and sending teachers to establish colleges, primarily in the Southern region of the United States. Northern philanthropists responded to the call to educate the former slaves by establishing foundations that distributed money for the operation of separate institutions for the education of African Americans. The funders, in particular, were instrumental in defining the parameters for the higher education of African Americans as they were interested in maintaining the social order which was based on white supremacy.

African American people also toiled to help themselves with the intent of using education as a passport to freedom. Parents generally viewed education as a priority for the family's work efforts and pay checks. While not all members of the family could attend college, specific family members were designated to be the recipients of the family's support with the expectation that the "educated" person would teach others. In effect,

African Americans practiced a philosophy of "each one, teach one" as suggested by an often repeated African proverb. As reported in the literature, African Americans worked hard and made sacrifices to pay more than $15 million dollars in tuition and fees to attend the newly established institutions of higher education for African Americans. They also served as the laborers to build schools and to feed teachers and students (Bond, 1934; Franklin, 1947; Holmes, 1934).

The federal government bolstered higher education for African Americans through the Freedmen's Bureau which appropriated money and sponsored legislation for the establishment of separate black colleges and universities. Between 1863 and 1880, forty-six HBCUs were founded, including some of the prominent colleges that we recognize today. Fisk University was established in 1866 in Tennessee; Howard University was established in 1867 in Washington, D.C.; and Hampton Institute was founded in 1868 in Virginia. With assistance from philanthropists, Booker T. Washington helped to establish Tuskegee Institute in Alabama in 1881 and the American Missionary Association founded Tougaloo College in 1869 in Mississippi. The creation of these colleges and universities expanded opportunities for African Americans to obtain formal schooling and students enrolled in great numbers (Bullock, 1967; DuBois, 1935; Franklin, 1947; Holmes, 1934).

Access for women to go to college was also opened up during this time. Rudolph (1964) says that "the agitation for collegiate education for women shared the same inspirations as many of the humanitarian movements of the first half of the nineteenth century" (p. 311). According to Rudolph, "the extension of women's education was the function of two agencies: the land-grant colleges and state universities where coeducation took hold; and a trio of new women's colleges which contributed heavily toward elevating the standards and reputation of collegiate education for women" (p. 314). While the Morrill Act of 1862 effectively extended this opportunity for women, it also allowed an even greater number of all other Americans to attend college. According to Franklin (1947), 260 institutions of higher education, including Stanford, John Hopkins, and the

University of Chicago, were established from 1860-1900. However, instead of allowing African American men or women to have access to the newly created women's colleges and land grant institutions that were established in each state, the law permitted states to deny admission to African Americans by providing separate public financial support to private HBCUs so that they could educate African Americans separately from Whites. The tax dollars that African Americans paid were used to fund the land grant colleges that they could not attend. Moreover, the funds allocated to the private colleges were not sufficient to insure an "equal" education for African Americans. When the Second Morrill Act was passed in 1890, the separate but equal principle was deeply embedded in the law and the government acted accordingly by providing financial appropriations for the direct establishment of separate public colleges and universities for African Americans. While the law attempted to address the obvious and enduring issue of racial inequality, in effect, it provided states with the opportunity to continue the practice of establishing separate and unequal colleges and universities based on race. Rudolph (1962) reports that "the act stipulated that no appropriations would go to states that denied admission to the colleges on the basis of race unless they also set up separate but equal facilities. Seventeen states were so moved" (p. 254).

The South had prospered under the unequal conditions that resulted from slavery, and during Reconstruction many Southerners continued to be wary of educating blacks because they believed that the same classical education that was offered to White students would lead African Americans to expect equality. By this time it was a fact of life that the races were to be considered separate and unequal. States rights often prevailed over federal laws and when decisions were made about race matters, southern political leaders generally led the way. As higher education for African Americans was clearly considered to be a powerful threat, the enduring influence of White southerners was evident in the debates about the existence and mission of HBCUs and in the legislative actions of the states.

Both the local governments and philanthropists were careful not to upset the prevailing social order. Franklin (1947) quotes a white leader from Mississippi who, during Reconstruction, declared that "what the North is sending South is not money but dynamite; this education is ruining our Negroes. They're demanding equality" (p. 391). Southern states used the legal system to protect their interests by adopting and enforcing laws known as "Black Codes" and "Jim Crow" to prohibit African Americans from owning property, obtaining an education, having access to capital, living in certain places, using public accommodations, and practicing certain professions. Consequently, there was actually a set of laws in the United States that fertilized and produced separate and unequal schools that were labeled inferior when compared to white colleges and universities. Yet, African Americans' struggle for higher education endured (Bond, 1934; DuBois, 1935).

W.E.B. DuBois, who is one of the most celebrated African American scholars ever, was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, during the Reconstruction era. DuBois describes his birth in geographic, historic and political terms. Typical of African American scholar-activists, DuBois' consideration for the larger context of American democracy rooted in racism was a prominent theme in his life. He writes,

> I was born by a golden river and in the shadow of two great hills. My birthplace was Great Barrington, a little town in western Massachusetts in the valley of the Housatonic, flanked by the Berkshire hills. Physically and socially our community belonged to the Dutch valley of the Hudson rather than to Puritan New England, and travel went south to New York more often and more easily than east to Boston. But my birthplace was less important than my birth-time. The Civil War had closed but three years earlier and in 1868 was the year the freedmen of the South were enfranchised and for the first time took part in government. Conventions with black delegates voted new constitutions all over the South; and two groups of laborers--freed slaves and poor whites--dominated the former slave states. It was an extraordinary experiment in democracy (DuBois, 1940; p. 8).

Separate But Unequal Access

As applied to higher education, the democratic experiment through the law produced separate HBCUs which were inherently unequal. Nevertheless, HBCUs were instrumental in providing many African Americans--both men and women--with some opportunities to participate in American higher education. Anna Julia Cooper began college by attending St. Augustine's Normal and Collegiate Institute in North Carolina from the age of 6 years where she served as a tutor. She later graduated in 1884 from Oberlin College, a predominantly white institution in Ohio. Cooper, along with other noted African American women, such as Mary Jane Patterson and Mary Church Terrell, became one of the first African American women to receive a B.A. degree. Cooper also received her master's degree in mathematics from Oberlin in 1887. She later studied at Columbia University receiving her doctorate degree from the Sorbonne at the University of Paris. Immediately after her graduation from Oberlin, she became a Professor of Modern Language and Literature at Wilberforce University. She spent the rest of her career in teaching and administrative positions at the primary and secondary levels, although later in life she also taught adults in a college and community context.

As an African American college graduate, opportunities to teach at a HBCU or at the primary and secondary levels were all that were available to Cooper at the time. Apparently, she did not mind though, because her motivation for gaining a college degree specifically included a desire to contribute to the uplift of African Americans. Lemert and Bhan (1998) report that Cooper revealed her devotion to African Americans' education in a speech to other African American women about her career. Cooper said, "I may say honestly and truthfully that my one aim is and has always been so far as I may, to hold a torch for the children of the group too long exploited and too frequently disparaged in its struggling for the light" (p. 8). She was also aware of her groundbreaking accomplishment as a woman college graduate and she advocated for greater opportunities for women to

attend college. In an essay entitled, The Higher Education of Women (1890-1891), Cooper wrote, "all I claim is that there is a feminine side as well as a masculine side to truth; that these are related not as inferior and superior, not as better and worse, not as weaker and stronger, but as complements--complements in one necessary and symmetric whole" (Lemert & Bhan, 1998, p. 78).

DuBois also benefited from the existence of HBCUs. He attended Fisk University and graduated with a B.A. in 1888. DuBois then went on to Harvard University, received his second B.A. degree cum laude in 1890, studied at the University of Berlin from 1892-1894 and received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1895. He was the first African American to receive a doctorate degree from Harvard. DuBois taught in rural schools in the South during his summers as a student at Fisk and, like Cooper, he also started his college teaching career at Wilberforce University as a Professor of Greek and Latin. He later taught at Atlanta University, conducted research at the University of Pennsylvania and served as a founder and leader for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). DuBois traveled widely and wrote extensively in a quest to liberate African Americans and to actualize democratic ideals.

Meanwhile, in 1896, an African American man named Homer Adolph Plessy challenged the United States government to officially and forcefully decide that the principle of equality meant the same in practice for all of its citizens. Fleming (1976) tells the story well and offers details about the Supreme Court's decision which effectively continued to nurture the seeds of racism. As the story goes, Plessy refused to ride in the "colored" car on a railroad train in Louisiana and he was arrested and charged with violating the separate but equal law. In an attempt to invoke the protection of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution, which articulated citizens' right to "equal protection under the law", Plessy filed a lawsuit. Fleming says that the Supreme Court decided that the "Fourteenth Amendment did not intend to 'enforce commingling of the two races' and it could not have eliminated distinctions based on race"

(p. 65). Thus, the rhetoric of equality as represented in the Constitution was not actually reflected in the policies and practices of society because race was clearly and explicitly used in a discriminatory manner to define privilege and to allocate resources. The roots of racism in American society in general and higher education in particular grew deeper and the branches grew wider aided by the law.

As the official law of the land, the separate but equal doctrine influenced the development of public policy as well as institutional policy in most arenas of life. It also greatly influenced the daily lives of African Americans from education to housing to employment to transportation to lynching. As in slavery, violence was often used to help maintain the social order. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was comprised of prominent citizens in many communities and African Americans lived (and died) with terrorism. DuBois (1935) reported that throughout Reconstruction the KKK "increased their activities" to prevent African Americans from voting and owning land (p. 533). Religion, as practiced in churches and scholarship as produced in the field of higher education, served to reinforce and justify the cruel treatment of African Americans. This religiously based ideology of inferiority, coupled with purported scientific "proof", has become as much a part of the American way as apple pie. Collins (1996) points out the power of ideology in helping to establish, maintain and perpetuate inequality. She says, "slaveholders justified the dehumanization of Africans by giving the old order of creation a racial basis" (p. 57). Miller (1995) emphasizes the use of academic theory when he contends that "because a rationale for the American republic was that 'all men are created equal', the southern slave system required a powerful justification to defend the 'peculiar institution'. The theory that blacks were innately inferior intellectually provided one" (p. 80).

Given these ideological arguments, legal sanctions and theoretical foundations, the walls around colleges and universities that served Whites were fortified during Reconstruction and for some time afterward. The field of higher education claimed to represent the ideals of the democracy, but instead it served as an example of the way that

American democracy moved away from the nation's ideals. Separate HBCUs continued to struggle for resources and the larger question of access to higher education for African Americans shined a bright spotlight on these contradictions which were built into the American democratic system. In describing the status of HBCUs within higher education, Marable (1983) says that,

> the function of the Black college was, at least from the view of white society, to train the Negro to accept a 'separate and unequal' position within American life. Ninety-one of the 107 Black colleges were established before 1910. Generally underfinanced and inadequately staffed, Black higher education was permitted to exist only in skeletal form during the long night of white supremacy. (p. 216)

Almost all of the schools founded for African Americans offered elementary and secondary education rather than college education because of the needs of the freed slaves and also because of the limits imposed on the institutions by their founders and funders (Holmes, 1934). While other colleges within higher education were developing research capabilities and providing credentials for an elite group of leaders, HBCUs were not as highly regarded. DuBois (1903) characterized the development of HBCUs by saying that "the Negro colleges, hurriedly founded, were inadequately equipped, illogically distributed, and of varying efficiency and grade" (p. 58).

Since HBCUs were clearly relegated to a separate and marginal existence within higher education, expectations for the higher education of African Americans were vigorously and widely debated as a way of defining the status and articulating the needs of African Americans. In essence, it is the role of higher education for African Americans that stirred the infamous nineteenth century debate between W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington. These two prominent scholar-activists had different ideas about vocational education and their views polarized African American leadership. As part of a larger

debate in the society as a whole, ideas about incorporating industrial and vocational education into the field of higher education were not unusual. Proponents of vocational education argued that college students needed to learn how to fit into the new industrial age and that college students who were still involved with farming needed to know about the most effective and efficient agricultural methods. Opponents of vocational education suggested that a narrowly defined education did not make for informed citizens who could effectively participate in a democratic society. The classical curriculum was viewed by some as a way to broaden the perspectives of college students and to insure that, as citizens, they would be acculturated into society. Classical education was also viewed as the kind of education that the "best and brightest" students should have because they would be given the opportunity to be the leaders of the society (Rudolph, 1962).

But the famous debate between Washington and DuBois was distinctive because decisions about the type of higher education that was provided for African Americans involved not only occupational matters, but a particular stance taken on the higher education of African Americans also tacitly implied acceptance or rejection of African Americans' diminished rights and their separate but equal status in American society. While each of these African American educators recognized the need for both classical and vocational education, the question of who would hold the future led to different opinions. DuBois contended that a classical education would produce a "talented tenth" who could lead the masses of the race toward freedom and equality. He called for the kind of leadership training provided to students at Harvard College.

Washington's notion of upward mobility through labor and wealth was akin to the idea of President Jackson who believed that the common man deserved instruction in that which would help him to make a living. Washington was a social conservative who did not want to upset the Southern and Northern leaders and legislators who were contributing money and allowing for the establishment of the separate educational institutions for African Americans. In his speeches, he was clear that African Americans' focus should be

on the economics of labor. Therefore, while Washington favored education for the masses to allow them to take their prescribed place in the factories and fields to help African Americans *earn* their rights to full citizenship, DuBois valued education focused on developing the intellect of African Americans so that college graduates could help the masses of African Americans to *attain* full citizenship, (DuBois, 1903; DuBois, 1940; Franklin, 1947; Frazier, 1957; Washington, 1901).

Ultimately, the purpose and mission of HBCUs was determined not so much by who "won" the debate between Washington and DuBois, but by the inclinations of those who represented the sources of funding for HBCUs. Foundations established to oversee "Negro education" were alliances between industrial philanthropists and Southern White leaders. The collective leadership of these foundations clearly influenced public policy. The overall sentiment that guided the decision making process was that higher education for African Americans was essential to train African American teachers and preachers as leaders who would encourage the masses to accept their lower status in society. The foundations favored the kind of curriculum that would keep African Americans in their place--not the kind of education that would inspire and liberate them. Booker T. Washington was positioned as an African American leader with clout and his opinion often prevailed over others. Based on the substance of Washington's ideals, HBCUs that focused on industrial education were rewarded with funding support, while colleges that tried to maintain a focus on the liberal arts were often discouraged and denied funding. As a result, many of the HBCUs emphasized vocational, agricultural and mechanical training rather than strict "book learning" (Bond, 1934; Fishel, 1969; Holmes, 1934).

In 1880, Crummell testified before the House Committee on Education and Labor about the need for two streams of education for African Americans. As a prominent church leader in Washington, D.C., he advocated for industrial training because he observed that the employment prospects for all African Americans were limited. His contention was that the colleges founded for African Americans were essential to the

"uplift" of the race but that practical training was also needed because even those with college degrees could not find work as professionals or even in the skilled trades. Moses (1989) reports that Crummell "articulated his position before the House Committee with vigor and force. He roundly condemned the racism that had made his position necessary and denounced the 'Combinations' that existed in every state, city, and village to keep black youth from learning the trades". To make a distinction between the benign intent of Washington's support for vocational education and Crummell's forceful advocacy for access to training in the skilled trades, Moses describes Crummell's testimony by saying that the "entire tone of his delivery was assertive, even defiant" (p. 233).

Anna Julia Cooper, who was employed as a teacher during this time when vocational and industrial education for African Americans was being promoted and funded, also took a stand on the issue. Cooper was most sympathetic to DuBois' position as she insisted on providing her students with a classical education. Cooper's writings indicate that she focused on the classical curriculum with the expectation that the students that she taught would have access to the best colleges in the country that also offered a classical education, which is the kind of education that Cooper received at Oberlin. Lemert and Bahn (1998) report that "while principal at M Street High School from 1901 to 1906, she so strengthened its curriculum in classical subjects that a markedly greater number of its graduates were accepted to elite colleges like Harvard" (p. 9). Lemert and Bahn suggest that her support for DuBois' position and her stance that only classical education should be offered at the M Street School cost her the job that she held and loved at the school for many years. Supporters of Washington, who were involved with the local school board, were publicly opposed to Cooper's position and actions. In explaining her stance, Cooper said, "the Negro has had manual education throughout his experience as a slave. For 250 years he was practically the only laborer in the American market". She suggested that the kind of education that African Americans needed was "the power to think, the power to appreciate, and the power to will the right and make it prevail, is the

sum total of the faculties of the human soul". According to Cooper, "strengthening and developing" these faculties of the soul were the responsibility of educators and she fully expected that African Americans would have access to the classical kind of education that would eventually "lead them out" (Lemert & Bhan, 1998, p. 251).

Mainstream leaders in higher education also joined the debate about the purpose of HBCUs. Charles Eliot, President of Harvard College, stressed the need for HBCUs to train teachers at a higher level so that the quality of education for African Americans in the lower grades would be sustained and improved. Eliot's advocacy was not necessarily related to a concern for African Americans' liberation. Instead his position was indicative of a practical view adopted by many whites which was that African Americans needed literacy to function in the narrowly prescribed jobs that were available to them at that time (Holmes, 1934). Miller (1995) contends that "liberal education was viewed by many whites as the province of people who, by virtue of native biological endowment and/or cultural experience and predisposition, were able to be educated for leadership and other positions in society that required well-developed intellectual capacities" (p. 79). Access to higher education for African Americans remained restrictive and since African Americans were not being considered as potential leaders for the larger society, there were few professional schools (law, medicine, etc.) accessible to African Americans either.

Despite the restrictions and limitations, African Americans persisted in their pursuit of higher education. Moses (1992) reports on Crummell's observations about the "outburst" of energy and faith that African Americans placed in education after Emancipation. Crummell wrote, "the outcome of this passion has been the gathering of multitudes of youth into schools, academies, and colleges. Nothing, in our time, has been comparable with the zeal, the self sacrifice, the lavish expenditure of parents, in order to give their freed children the enlightenment and the superiority which comes from letters" (p. 250). Given his hopes and beliefs, Alexander Crummell continued throughout his lifetime to advocate for the development of African American leaders through higher

education. He made speeches to college students, shared his political ideas with policy makers in Washington, D.C., gave sermons in churches, wrote letters and pamphlets and helped to establish several scholarly organizations. Crummell died in 1898 as a scholar-activist who contributed substantially to the progress that African Americans were making through their faith in education (Moses, 1989).

Achievement Against the Odds

Over a relatively short period of time, opportunities for the formal education of African Americans after slavery increased substantially due to the actions of missionaries, philanthropists, and the government combined with African Americans' enthusiasm and sacrifices for the future. The field and function of higher education clearly provided a foundation for African Americans' progress. V.P. Franklin (1984) reports that, despite the inferior conditions of HBCUs, the "70 percent illiteracy rate (defined as inability to write) among Afro-Americans in 1880 had dropped to about 30 percent in 1910" (p. 175). Literacy expanded options for African Americans by providing them with knowledge about the larger system. It also permitted them to "prove" that they could learn just like Whites and so an increased number of African Americans attended and graduated from college. Many of the students became teachers so they could help provide for the uplift of others through education. In effect, there was an "army" of teachers--African Americans and Whites--who were fighting the battle for literacy. When we consider the starting point for African Americans' educational pursuits during and after slavery, it is amazing and inspiring to learn about what could be accomplished with dedication and faith over a period of just thirty years!

DuBois (1903) reported that by 1900, about 2,000 African Americans had graduated from HBCUs and an estimated 500 African Americans had graduated from predominantly white colleges and universities in the North. The graduates were trained for a narrowly defined set of professions and many college educated African Americans were

forced to accept menial jobs instead of assuming leadership roles. With little exception, the college graduates who were employed as professionals, including teachers, served strictly African American populations. The majority of African Americans also still lived in the South and even those living in the North generally lived in segregated communities. Table 2 lists the percentages of college graduates in 1900 who were involved with various professions (DuBois, 1903, p. 59).

Table 2. Percentages of African American college graduates in 1900 by professions

Profession	Percentage of college graduates
Education	53
Clergy	17
Professions (primarily doctors)	17
Farmers, merchants, artisans	6
Government service	4

In 1915, through a cooperative arrangement between the Federal Bureau of Education and the Phelps-Stoke Fund, a survey of "Negro education" was conducted to determine the best course of action for the continued support and development of HBCUs. Holmes (1934) said that the report estimated that less than 3% of the 92,593 students who attended HBCUs were actually enrolled in college level courses and most of the resources of these schools were devoted to secondary education (p. 159). As in the nineteenth century, the general focus of HBCUs within higher education continued to be on industrial, domestic and agricultural training to prepare African Americans to be the

servants and workers needed by property owners, business, industry and the elite. HBCUs also trained African American teachers and preachers who could teach other African Americans to fit into the social order--albeit on the lower rungs of the ladder (Bond, 1934; Franklin, 1947). Bullock (1967) says that whether HBCUs were offering industrial or liberal arts education, "the two types of schools educated Negro youths for different classes within the same caste system" (p. 85).

Beyond the debate about industrial versus classical education, the relevancy of the curriculum that African Americans were experiencing at HBCUs was also a major concern for leading African American scholar-activists. DuBois, who is considered one of the early advocates for black studies programs, promoted the idea of studying the plight of African Americans more closely for the purpose of not just liberating African Americans, but also to offer the world other ways of viewing and doing things. DuBois' contention was that by studying the life and circumstances of African Americans, the nation would be able to find a way to take corrective action so it could fulfill its democratic ideals. DuBois and others were also interested in studying the African American experience because they believed that African Americans needed to know, preserve and affirm their distinct cultural heritage--including African Americans' relationship to Africa. In effect, knowledge about African Americans was the kind of knowledge that some felt was needed to lead African Americans--and America--out of their oppressive circumstances. (Baker, 1995; DuBois, 1903; Willie et al, 1995).

The number of African American scholars who focused on the plight of African Americans continued to increase. The literature reveals that scholars formed organizations and conducted studies to describe and explain the conditions of African Americans and to suggest solutions to the problems (Franklin, V.P. & Anderson, 1978). In addition to the prominence of DuBois' ideas about the study of black life and culture, Carter G. Woodson (1933) asserted that

> only by careful study of the Negro himself and the life which he is forced to lead can we arrive at the proper procedure in this crisis. The mere imparting of information is not education. The only question which concerns us here is whether these 'educated' persons are actually equipped to face the ordeal before them or unconsciously contribute to their own undoing by perpetuating the regime of the oppressor. The so-called modern education, with all its defects, however, does others so much more good than it does the Negro, because it has been worked out in conformity to the needs of those who have enslaved and oppressed weaker peoples (pp. x-xii).

Woodson later became known as the Father of Black History because it was his proposal that led to the idea of Black History week (which has since been expanded to Black History Month). However, since their inception, HBCUs have generally imitated the curriculum of mainstream colleges with little focus on the development of an explicit curriculum centered on the specific plight of African Americans (Anderson, J., 1988).

By the time of the Depression in the early 1930s, there were 109 HBCUs enrolling approximately 23,000 college students. Within the universe of HBCUs, there was a preponderance of small colleges enrolling less than 250 students and only 43% of the college programs were accredited. During this time of economic despair, philanthropists advised some colleges to merge and others to accept junior college status. Black land grant colleges received decreased funding allocations and several of the colleges were forced to close their doors. Reportedly, the ratio of African American residents to each African American student attending college was 515 to 1. The comparable ratio for Whites was 100 White residents to each White student attending college (Holmes, 1934).

DuBois (1968) says that "the story of the depression as it affected American Negroes, has not yet been adequately attempted. In many great centers of population more than a third of the Negroes went on public charity and more ought to have gone but suffered deliberate discrimination in the South" (p. 303). Randolph Bromery's family was more fortunate than many when he was a young boy growing up in Cumberland, Maryland, in the 1930s. Bromery says that his father worked as a head waiter at the local

hotel so his family ate well and he and his siblings were encouraged to pursue education. Bromery recalls his experiences with segregated schools by saying, "Cumberland is in a narrow area of Maryland. When you cross the bridge you're in West Virginia and if you go over a couple of blocks you would be in Pennsylvania. We were in a funny situation because we were on the wrong side of town. Blacks lived on the other side of town and we had to walk past several white elementary and high schools to go to the Black school where all the grades were taught in the same classroom" (personal communication, April 4, 1999). This pattern was repeated in many communities across the country--North and South--where African American children were forced to attend segregated schools based on race. African Americans had to learn how to make the best out of a bad situation and they responded accordingly. Litwack (1998) contends that "if students, parents, and teachers accommodated themselves to a separate and unequal school system, they did so from an absence of alternatives. But accommodation never came easily, nor did it necessarily imply acquiescence" (p. 109).

Throughout the Depression and World War II, African Americans and HBCUs continued to struggle as separate institutions with unequal resources. Charles Smith (1997) reports that finances, including faculty salaries, were relatively low. However, faculty employment at HBCUs was stable because African Americans were generally not allowed to teach at other institutions. At the same time, the struggles of the Depression and the war led African Americans and others to fight for their human rights with the full expectation that American democracy was going to deliver on its promise of "liberty and justice" for all. Watkins (1993) paints a picture of an "activist" government and citizenry that "reinforced the newly discovered faith in the virtues of collective action" (p. 16). The labor movement gained momentum and social experimentation permeated the atmosphere with new programs like social security, welfare and medicare which were being created and instituted as never before. After fighting for their country, African American soldiers and their families questioned even more the injustices that had been visited upon them

over time. Many organizations dedicated to the fight for justice were formed and the momentum for change present in the larger society was present in African American communities too where challenging questions were being asked and determined actions were being taken. Sternsher (1969) commented that "it now appears that the most important development in race relations during the war was the rise of 'mass black militancy'" (p. 6).

Gloria Wade-Gayles was born in the midst of this activist time in American history when being an African American still meant that your choices for a college education would be limited to separate and unequal institutions within higher education. Living in the South in the 1940s, Wade-Gayles (1993) remembers the segregated atmosphere in Memphis, Tennessee. She writes, "By law, we were forced to read other signs, the ones that established boundaries and territories based on race, making mockery of the city's claim to progress. 'For Whites Only' and 'Colored' were more numerous than magnolia trees" (p. 2). The depth of racism and definitive nature of segregation based on race continued to haunt the country. Yet, Franklin (1947) reports that as a result of the war there was a "rising influence of the Negro electorate" and increased employment opportunities for African Americans in government service and war related industries; but he also cites the resistance to African Americans' progress in the form of threats and violence. Lynchings and murders were still commonplace (pp. 613-614).

Meanwhile, the prosperity of the nation following the war translated into growth for higher education. Like the land-grant legislation of the 1890s, passage of the G.I. Bill in 1944 opened up more opportunities for people to attend college. Freeland (1992) said that "the program had the potential to bring higher education within the reach of many who could not previously afford college. For some this was a welcome chance to open the academic gates" (p. 73). However, for African Americans as a group, the gates to predominantly white colleges and universities (PWCUs) continued to be closed and the status of HBCUs continued to be marginal. The Carnegie Commission (1971) reported

that by 1947, "between 80 and 90 percent of all blacks who graduated from college had received their education in black institutions in Southern states" (p. 5). In addition, Marable (1983) reports that "as late as 1946, only four Black colleges--Howard University, Fisk University, Talladega College and North Carolina State--were accredited by the Association of American Universities" (p. 216).

Leaders of organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were becoming more active in a movement for civil rights by challenging the *Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896)* separate but equal legal doctrine as applied to education. The field of higher education was a clear and immediate target. Between 1935 and 1954 there were five high profile court cases involving challenges to separate and unequal practices and programs within higher education. Kluger (1975) explains the rationale for the NAACP's legal strategy to target higher education when he says "the plan was to build a string of precedents, one victory leading to and supporting the next" (p. 187). The NAACP's attorneys began by challenging the graduate schools and they strategically started with the law schools because they expected that judges, who were trained as lawyers, would be able to understand the "absurdity" of the separate but equal doctrine operating within higher education. These legal cases produced data and testimony that confirmed the separate but *unequal* status of higher education and therefore the separate but equal legal doctrine was jeopardized. Commenting on the potential impact of one of the court cases challenging discriminatory admissions policies at predominantly white colleges and universities (PWCUs) operated by the states, Kluger points out that "the real fear of the university officials was that if Murray opened the door to Negro students, many of them would apply to the undergraduate school" (p. 193). African Americans, on the other hand, wanted a victory in the Murray case because they understood that unequal treatment in higher education was a symbol of the general pattern of unequal treatment in society. A victory for Murray could signal a widespread change in public policy and progress for African Americans.

While decisions in the various legal cases over a period of years led to some breakthroughs, separate but unequal continued to thrive and most PWCUs did not admit African Americans. Instead, state governments provided HBCUs with additional funds to open separate graduate and professional schools. It is the *Brown vs. the Board of Education (1954)* case that is credited with opening the doors of educational institutions at all levels. In this legal decision involving public schools in Topeka, Kansas, the Supreme Court declared that separate schools were inherently unequal and in 1955, the court ordered the dismantling of separate, dual systems to proceed "with all deliberate speed". Thus, the *Brown* decision provided a new direction for race relations and public policy because it acknowledged the historical inequities and injurious effects of the separate but equal doctrine. Although the pace of change was slow, the *Brown* decision stimulated other legislative changes and programs that opened up new opportunities for African Americans in education, employment and housing (Bell, 1980; Kluger, 1975; Peller, 1997; Sarat, 1997).

The Brown decision definitely marked a turning point for African Americans-and America. Strickland (1979) emphasizes the social transformation that occurred when he describes African Americans' reaction to the court's decision. He says, "on May 17, 1954 when the decision was announced, most black people felt that the country, represented by its Supreme Court, had joined our freedom struggle. It seemed a new era, one in which America, like God, had come over to our side" (pp. 3-4). He also points to the hope that the *Brown* decision inspired in African Americans and the significance of African Americans' perceived generational victory in its legal battles for human rights. He explains that "it was our beliefs which made us strong and confident of ourselves, our struggle and our future. Indeed, the struggle was about and for that future. And the future of the race for which these sacrifices and many more were to be made, was nothing more--but also nothing less--than black children. That is the bedrock essence of *Brown*" (p. 4).

I was born as a Black child in 1953, one year before the Brown decision. Growing up, I lived in a predominantly African American neighborhood in New England but there were a significant number of Whites who lived on our side of town. They went to the same schools that we did and played in the same playgrounds. I had really never thought much about it as a young child, but I came to understand that the neighborhoods in the city of Springfield, Massachusetts, were clearly divided along racial lines and that school desegregation was a change in the status quo. It seems that although the change was decreed, it was also feared. As an elementary school student, I remember seeing scenes of angry White people on television vowing that they would not allow their children to attend school with African American children. When I went to the first grade, I attended a brand new school that was built to help the city with its desegregation efforts. When I visited my relatives in the South, I learned that most of them had never attended school with a white person, including my cousins who were my age. Through our conversations, I learned that they were skeptical of the idea and worried about the violence that White people in Mississippi and North Carolina might inflict on them. As an observant and inquisitive child, I was beginning to get the idea that the color of my skin was going to make a difference in how I lived my life and education was going to be a forum for experiencing these differences.

For many African Americans, the *Brown* decision was involved not just social change, but also personal change. bell hooks (1996), who was born around 1955 and attended segregated public schools in Kentucky during the 1960s, describes her potential losses with the changes and challenges brought on by the Brown decision. She says, "we cannot believe we must leave our beloved Crispus Attucks and go to schools in the white neighborhoods. We cannot imagine what it will be like to walk by the principal's office and see a man who will not know our name, who will not care about us" (p. 154). The legal changes also engendered hope and expectations for progress. Henry Louis Gates (1994) marks his life with this historic time and identifies himself in relation to the Brown

decision. He states that "less than four years after my birth, something happened that would indelibly mark me and my peers for life--something that would open up another world to us, a world our parents could have never known. *Brown v. Board* was decided in 1954. I entered the Davis Free Elementary School in 1956, just one year after it was integrated" (p. 91).

After 1954, the function of HBCUs as the sole source for educating African Americans began to change dramatically and the existence of HBCUs within the field of higher education was called into question. Prior to the Brown decision, HBCUs had a monopoly on educating African American students and employing African American faculty. As institutions within higher education, they had also developed an expertise in developing African American leaders, teachers and scholars (Bell, 1980; Sims, 1994). Now the climate on college campuses across the country was beginning to change. African Americans were fully expecting the gates of PWCUs to be opened and the curriculum and governance of institutions to be changed to meet their needs and to serve their interests. But the struggle was not over. The seeds of racism had developed strong roots. Change was slow and the majority of African Americans continued to attend segregated schools.

In 1955, Gloria Wade-Gayles, received a scholarship to LeMoyne College, a HBCU in Tennessee. At that time, LeMoyne was the only college in Memphis that accepted African Americans. Writing about the changes that she experienced as a college student, Wade-Gayles (1993) gives us a glimpse of the tenor of the times and her personal experiences with racism and activism when she says,

> I began college in the early fifties, when all across the South black people were becoming intolerant of Jim Crowism. I was my uncle's 'child'. I was angry and impatient. I wanted to organize a boycott of Memphis buses like the one that was taking place in Montgomery, Alabama. My mother was concerned about my safety because I had begun 'talking back' to white people and refusing to sit on the back of the bus. 'Just walk everywhere, Gloria,' she told me. 'Walk everywhere.' I remember a new surge of anger when Nat King Cole,

> whom my mother loved was attacked by a white mob in Birmingham. I remember that a group of us at LeMoyne, among them Marion Barry, who would later become mayor of Washington, D.C. challenged the racial position of the board of trustees of the college, creating somewhat of a uproar in Memphis. I wore my racial anger like a badge (p. 48).

Even with the idea of change in the air, HBCUs were still busy educating future leaders and teachers. Both Randolph Bromery and Ruth Simmons attended HBCUs as undergraduates. Following military service during World War II, Bromery attended the University of Michigan for a short time and then graduated from Howard University in Washington, D.C. with a degree in Mathematics during the mid-1950s. Bromery went on to earn a master's degree in Geology and Geophysics from The American University and a doctorate degree in Geology from The John Hopkins University. Simmons graduated from Dillard University in New Orleans, Louisiana in the mid-1960s. She then won prestigious fellowship awards and earned her master's and doctorate degrees from Harvard University in Romance Languages. In their oral narratives, they both spoke of the nurturing environment that was provided at HBCUs and the teachers' expectations that they would excel and assume leadership roles in the society. Bromery made connections with past scholars by recounting stories about how he met and was taught by some of the people who at that time were considered to be among the "Talented Tenth", including Sterling Brown whose poem entitled, 'The Strong Men Keep a Comin', is a moving tribute to the legacy of African Americans' struggle, and Alain Locke, a prominent African American intellectual who helped to spearhead the Harlem Renaissance.

Simmons explained that college was not something that she was familiar with when she was growing up in the 1950s, and she offers insight into the impact that college had on her life when she attended Dillard University in the 1960s. She said,

> of course college meant everything in terms of setting me off in this particular direction. I know that if I had not gone to college I certainly would have never known about college

> and university life which is a particular thing you know. I came from a community in Texas that had no knowledge of college and university life at all because when I was small no one in my family had been to college. The public colleges and universities in my state were not open to minorities at the time so it was not something that one could easily think of doing. There were some historically black colleges and so when I was growing up I'd hear about a place called Mary Allers (sp) College and I was very aware that some very strange Black people were able to go to this place and to get positions as secretaries and quasi-professional positions. (personal communication April 7, 1999).

My uncle, Alton Joseph, enrolled at Tougaloo College in 1954 so that he could study to be a teacher. He graduated in 1958 after majoring in history and then started his teaching career at Magnolia High School--his alma mater. The high school was a separate school for African Americans and, as a young teacher, he was expected to serve as a role model for the students and as a leader for the school. He says that when he was in college he was very conscientious because the expectations for excellence were high. My Uncle Alton says that he personally felt that it was "important to prove that Blacks could excel and that the confidence that educators and parents were putting in Black children was not misplaced". He says that at the time that he was in college, the idea of Blacks and Whites attending school together in Mississippi was not something that seemed imminent to him (personal communication, October 3, 1999).

But social change was on the rise and the events that precipitated the dramatic rise in African Americans' involvement in higher education were widespread. Watching the Eyes on the Prize film series (1987, 1990) produced by Henry Hampton evoked thoughts and emotions--especially tears-- when viewing the vicious and ignorant behavior of some people who opposed African Americans' liberation. Indeed, in Volume 2 of the film series, Ross Barnett, Governor of Mississippi, angrily stated his position by saying, "Friends, I'm a Mississippi segregationist and I'm proud of it". Also in the film, Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland declared that "all the people of the South are in favor of segregation

and the Supreme Court or no Supreme Court, we're going to maintain segregated schools down in Dixie". The force of their statements and the strength of their convictions were evident in their words and expressions. My uncle's instincts were right. It took a long time for Mississippi and most other states to embrace change in the schools.

But from Rosa Parks' action leading to the bus boycotts in Alabama to the sit-ins at lunch counters by college students to the March on Washington to the Freedom Rides to the deaths of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy to the rise of the Black Panther Party and the Nation of Islam to James Meredith's walk to the University of Mississippi--during the 1950s and 60s, America was immersed in a social change movement inspired by the sacrifices, dignity and spirit of African Americans. It was inspiring to watch and listen to African Americans committed to obtaining justice through non-violent struggle. Viewing the spirit of the masses of people involved in the church meetings, marches, sit-ins, boycotts and jailings gave me a great appreciation for the determination and courage of African Americans. I was also struck by the many faces of other people from all races and stations in life-especially Whites who joined together to help protest racial injustices and to hold America accountable for fulfilling its stated ideals, including the part about being one nation under God. Just as with the Civil War, African Americans were helping to set the agenda for American democracy through the Civil Rights Movement.

The films of African Americans marching for freedom are visual representations of the faith that both leaders and the masses of people possessed. Seeing water hoses and dogs aimed at people, hearing screams and watching police officers beat people with unrelenting force are powerful reminders of how far the nation has come and the long way that it still has to go before justice is realized for African Americans. During this time when African Americans took direct action based on a collective consciousness and asserted their humanity through non-violence, the world took notice. The moral and political positions of African Americans helped to propel the movement forward with

freedom songs, impassioned sermons and biblical truths serving as ammunition for encouragement and enlightenment. In Volume 4 of the film series, entitled "No Easy Walk", four young African American girls were killed in the bombing of a church and the 'freedom fighters' sang, "God is on our side, deep in my heart, I do believe that we shall overcome". Faith in a higher power to move us toward justice could not be denied.

African American college students were intricately involved and, in some cases, were the instigators of action to force America to deal with issues of equality and equity during the movement. Students from Fisk University and other HBCUs devised strategies for their direct involvement and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was born. Branch (1988) reports that "the Nashville students--destined to establish themselves as the largest, most disciplined and most persistent of the non-violent action groups in the South--extended the sit-in movement into its third state. Their success helped form the model of the student group--recruited from the campuses, quartered in churches, and advised by preachers" (p. 679-80). The sight of African American college students sitting at lunch counters and being carried away by police through angry mobs suggests that the role of African Americans who have attended college has gone far beyond academics. Higher education for African Americans has actually nurtured activism.

During the 1960s, the legacy of college educated African Americans was building exponentially. In Volume 6 of the film series, "Bridge to Freedom", more than one hundred African American teachers, who were members of the Selma (Alabama) Teacher's Association, marched to protest the arrest of a noted community activist, and they were physically and verbally rebuffed by hostile police officers. The younger African American students interviewed in the film expressed admiration for their teachers who stood up for what they believed to be right. The students actually labeled their teachers as "leaders" and pointed out that they risked their jobs to work for social change. Courage and determination were being passed from generation to generation. New scholar-activists were being born and older ones were passing away.

As the Civil Rights struggle continued, DuBois died in 1963 and Anna Julia Cooper died in 1964. Both DuBois and Cooper lived long lives and devoted themselves to the "uplift of the race" and the fulfillment of democracy. Before he passed on, DuBois (1968) noted the progress that was made and recognized the deep roots of racism and the challenges ahead when he said, "The American Negro is beginning to vote, to be admitted to labor unions and to be granted many civil rights. But the mischief and long neglect of democracy has already spread throughout the nation" (p. 354). At the end of his life, DuBois lived and died in Ghana where he spent years contemplating and acting on issues related to problems of the color line. Cooper also continued to hope and work for African Americans' liberation. She was pleased with the progress that African Americans were making, and she understood that America was engaged in an ongoing struggle for democracy. Cooper (1998) writes that "the impulse of humanity toward social progress is like the movement in the currents of a great water system, from myriad sources and under myriad circumstances and conditions, beating onward, ever onward toward its eternity, the Ocean" (p. 339). The 1950s and 1960s in many ways represented significant forward movement for African Americans as a race and America as a nation, but we have yet to reach the ocean.

The Black Surge

The passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Higher Education Act of 1965 literally changed the face of American colleges and universities. Jacqueline Fleming (1984) says that "the mass entrance of black students into predominantly white colleges in the 1960s marked a turning point for historically black schools" (p. 7). The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education issued a report in 1971, entitled, From Isolation to Mainstream--Problems of the Colleges Founded for Negroes, that referred to the "black surge" on white college campuses. The members of the Commission included Clark Kerr, a prominent scholar within higher education as

Chairperson; Nathan Pusey, President of Harvard University, Patricia Harris Roberts, an African American lawyer; and fifteen other distinguished scholars, college presidents, bankers and lawyers. The report revealed that funding which would have gone to HBCUs was being awarded to other colleges and universities now educating African American students. The report also indicated that HBCUs were losing talented African American students and faculty in the "intramural brain drain" and that the HBCUs' programs were too narrowly focused in relation to the needs of the economy and the black community. (At that time, teaching continued to be a predominant feature in the curriculums of most of the HBCUs.)

As in the past, once again philanthropists and the federal government helped to shape higher education's response to the times and its inherent racial dynamics. The Rockefeller Foundation gave $2.5 million to the United Negro College Fund and started a program known as 'Toward Equal Opportunity for All'. This program offered funding to predominantly white, selective colleges and universities to recruit "disadvantaged minorities", and so higher education moved to expand opportunities for African Americans beyond HBCUs. Willie (1991) highlights the irony involved with dollars flowing to PWCUs as a result of the direct protest actions led by African American students attending HBCUs. In describing the Rockefeller Foundation's actions, Willie said, "the foundation gave itself the task of increasing 'the flow of Negro students to the better colleges and universities' as a way of implementing equal educational opportunity" (pp. 9-10).

In addition, the government got involved by declaring that any college that wanted to receive funding for financial aid programs or other educational projects was required to comply with non-discrimination laws (Edwards & Nordin, 1979). Select colleges desiring a share of the available government funding recruited "the best and the brightest" of black students and offered them scholarships thereby producing some unprecedented competition for the HBCUs. African Americans students who were now confronted with

the opportunity to attend a PWCU, took advantage of the financial support and the promises of increased access to mainstream America. A large part of the demographic shift from HBCUs to PWCUs then can be attributed to the financial incentives that were provided by the foundations and the government for the mainstream colleges to accept African American students.

During this period of the development of higher education, Henry Louis Gates and bell hooks were among the growing number of African American students who were enrolling in predominantly white colleges and universities. Gates attended Potomac Sate College of West Virginia for one year and then went to Yale University in 1969. He recalls his consciousness related to race issues at the time by sharing that his 'personal statement' for his Yale application began: "'my grandfather was colored, my father was Negro, and I am black'. And it concluded: 'As always, whitey now sits in judgment of me, preparing to cast my fate. It is your decision either to let me blow with the wind as a non-entity or to encourage the development of self. Allow me to prove myself'" (p. 201). hooks (1989) remembers her parents' fears and dreams for her as she made choices about where she would attend college. Having decided to go to Stanford University, hooks says of her parents, "They did not understand why I could not attend a college nearby, an all-black college. To them, any college would do. I would graduate, become a school teacher, make a decent living and a good marriage" (p. 75).

As more African American students were admitted to predominantly white colleges, the atmosphere in higher education began to change. Some of the African Americans (and others who were supportive) brought with them the protests, passions, hopes and determination of the people who were struggling in the courts, the schools and the streets. Many were unapologetically black and committed to changing the conditions for black people in the United States and throughout the world. These feelings were powerful motivators and African American students were confident and optimistic about their opportunity to move from the margin into the "mainstream". What many of these

students found, however, was a physical and cultural environment that did not reflect or affirm them or their aspirations for equality. Some of the white professors, faculty, students and administrators openly displayed their prejudices. The curriculum made little reference to the black experience in America and even the extracurricular events did not speak to African American traditions, talents and customs. African American faculty and administrators started to be employed in larger numbers to address the needs of African American students and to comply with the newly instituted affirmative action goals and timetables. It seemed that the direct action strategies that were being employed in the streets and courts were clearly needed in the ivory tower too.

Willie (1991) describes the dissonance that was occurring between African Americans and predominantly white colleges and universities when he says, "so the experience of integration that the Rockefeller Foundation launched so boldly for the purpose of bringing blacks into the mainstream at 'good colleges and universities' was in some instances bringing blacks into the briar patch rather than a rose garden. The integrated setting sometimes turned out to be an ivy-colored jungle full of predators rather than the promised land" (p. 15). In terms of HBCUs during this period, the Carnegie Commission Report (1971) stated that only 26.8 percent of the faculty of HBCUs had doctoral degrees and teaching salaries in every rank were lower than those for other faculty. They also reported that enrollment in professional schools also continued to lag. There was 1 White lawyer for every 750 White citizens and 1 African American lawyer for every 5,000 African American citizens. Less than 1 percent of all students enrolled in medical schools were African American. Blacks at PWCUs were agitating for change and HBCUs were still struggling to survive. Thus, the totality of African Americans' experience in higher education during the 1960s and 1970s produced some bitterness and despair as well as some creative genius and energy. The stage was definitely set for student activism and demands for some far reaching changes in the field and function of American colleges and universities.

Reflecting on this tumultuous era, Charles Smith (1997) says that "it was in this period that the most vehement frontal attack on historically black colleges and universities was made". He cites an article that was published in the Harvard Educational Review (1967) by Reisman and Jencks classifying HBCUs collectively as "an academic disaster area" (p. 92). He also points out that at the same time, noted academics such as Arthur Jensen, William Herrenstein and William Shockley were promoting ideologies suggesting that blacks were genetically inferior and incapable of learning in the same way that whites could learn. These theories based on the inferiority of African Americans provided some ammunition for PWCUs that did not want to change, but in total, the number of African Americans attending college continued to rise despite the fact that HBCUs were in jeopardy. Willie et al (1993) report that "up until 1950, 90% of black students in higher education were served in traditionally black institutions. By 1967, 3 years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 75% of blacks were enrolled in predominantly white institutions" (p. 10). By 1976, there were 604,000 African American, full-time undergraduate students. This was the highest number of African Americans ever to attend college. Many of these students were at HBCUs and community colleges and a significant number were attending PWCUs. Clearly, African Americans were present in higher education as never before.

It was in 1971 that I enrolled at Smith College located in Northampton, Massachusetts--twenty miles from my hometown. I remember being a little frightened about the experience because I was not sure if I would measure up to all that I had learned about Smith College *after I was accepted*. I initially applied to Smith because it happened to be one of the applications that my high school guidance counselor put before me. After receiving the early acceptance letter announcing that I would receive a renewable "scholarship" to pay the full cost of my tuition, room and board and books, I learned that Smith was considered to be an elite, women's college. It was not until I received that letter that I really started to believe that college may be a viable alternative and becoming a teacher could be a dream come true. When I arrived on campus for a special summer

program that was developed to orient "minority" students to college life, I was delighted to meet about 40 other students who were also African Americans and from various parts of the country. Since there were only about 40 of us out of a class of about 500, we became friends pretty fast and we developed support networks to sustain us in this new environment. My first point of reckoning with my "minority" status came when the incumbent Director for Financial Aid announced to our group that "the college had made a terrible mistake and had accepted too many Blacks". She said that when they decided to accept all of us, they did not think that we would all really come. She then assured us that this would never happen again and wished us well in our studies. We were a little bewildered but we could clearly see that integration definitely stirred the melting pot and that there were going to be some challenges ahead of us based on our race.

In 1973, *Adams vs. Richardson* challenged the continued and persistent segregation of African Americans in higher education despite the gains made as a result of the *Brown* decision. As a legal case, *Adams* is considered to be, for higher education, the equivalent of the Brown case that focused on elementary and secondary schools. *Adams* used the same legal principles to force further desegregation in higher education. According to the 1995-96 Annual Report of the President's Board of Advisors on HBCUs, "*Adams* was the most important legal action to affect the educational hopes and aspirations of black Americans and historically black colleges" (p. 24). The legal decision handed down by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia was based on the determination that states with segregated schools receiving federal funds were violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964. With this legal decision, African Americans hoped that their status and that of HBCUs would no longer be considered second class.

Although the decision seemed to be favorable to African Americans, the federal government regarded desegregation efforts within higher education as a responsibility of the state rather than one for individual institutions. Most of the states affected did not have coordinating or planning boards for higher education and so to accommodate the concerns

of the states ordered to desegregate, the federal government allowed states to take some time to put "voluntary" plans and programs in place. Ironically, HBCUs became the primary targets for the governments desegregation efforts thereby protecting the status of the PWCUs. Some of the states sought to close their public HBCUs while others set out to attract more White students to HBCUs, but not more African American students to PWCUs (Edwards & Nordin, 1979). The *Adams* decision has not had the same impact on African Americans' progress as the *Brown* decision because leaders in politics and higher education have become more sophisticated about the legal language and strategies that are used to maintain the status quo. The change that is occurring within higher education is taking place with "all deliberate speed", but it is change that excludes African Americans.

Affirmative Action as it continued to be practiced in the 1980s as well as Title IIIB of the HBCU Act (an amendment to the Higher Education Act), which was passed in 1986 have also been significant factors in the higher education of African Americans because these actions provided a legal basis for admittance (including timetables) and financial support for African Americans' success in college. Admittance to PWCUs was one thing, graduation was another. Sims (1994) reports that "in 1980, blacks constituted 9.4 percent of the enrollment in higher education institutions, but received only 6.5 percent of the bachelor's degrees conferred in 1980-81. A significant portion of those degrees were conferred by HBCUs" (p. 11). According to Black Issues in Higher Education (October 1997), Title IIIB has allowed more than $1 billion of government dollars to flow to HBCUs over a ten year period. The Title III money is allocated to HBCUs based on the percentage of Pell Grant recipients enrolled and the percentages of students who complete their programs, graduate and go on to professional schools. HBCUs have been more successful in retaining and graduating African American students than PWCUs, but public policy applied to American higher education has still created and promoted some separate and unequal opportunities for African Americans.

Most recently, specific court cases from Bakke (1978) to Podboresky (1994) to Hopwood (1994) have challenged affirmative action programs, admissions policies and targeted financial aid programs designed to equalize opportunities for African Americans. In 1992, the justice system was also involved with influencing the fate of HBCUs when the Fordice case threatened their existence. In this case, the State of Mississippi was ordered by the Supreme Court to desegregate its separate but unequal public system of higher education. One of the policy changes that came about because of the law was the development of uniform admissions standards. The new admissions standards, which rely more heavily on test scores and grade point averages, have the effect of excluding more African Americans from higher education and it is the HBCUs within the state of Mississippi that are actually threatened with closure (President's Board of Advisors on HBCUs, Annual Report, 1995-96). In the 1990s, through resource allocations, policy changes, and new programs, both state and federal legislatures, as well as specific institutions of higher education, have initiated veiled actions to supposedly combat the concept of "reverse discrimination". The idea is that because African Americans are gaining access to higher education in larger numbers, they are taking the place of "qualified" Whites who should be admitted to colleges and universities. The effect of these initiatives to change admissions practices and the nature of race-based scholarships is that African Americans' access to higher education may continue to be limited and higher education, including the people who are "educated" there, will continue to suffer from its lack of racial diversity.

Thus, for an African American student, the opportunity to attend college is still a luxury and the choice between a HBCU and a PWCU is an important one. My son, Kamari Collins, enrolled at Springfield College in 1994 with the idea that he was going to be a physical education teacher. He had played basketball in high school and was coaching young boys in basketball when he decided to attend college. He thought that being a teacher in the public schools was going to allow him to make a difference in the lives of

young people. Kamari said that he was expecting that higher education would provide him with the skills, knowledge, attitudes and competencies to do the job well. He also suspected that being a college student was going to give him some insight into who he was and what he was capable of doing in life. I naturally thought that he should attend college because I knew that it would open up possibilities for what he could do in his life. I also had the expectation that college would help him to discover more about himself and his place in the world. Since he had become a father at the age of 17, he decided to stay close to home so he could help to raise his daughter. Therefore, with living in New England, attendance at a HBCU was not an option.

As a college student in the 1990s, Kamari says that he experienced a curriculum that did not seem especially relevant to his life. He also notes a typical absence of African American role models on predominantly white campuses, when he says, "in most of my classes I was the only African American student there and over the course of my whole four years, I never had an African American professor" (personal communication, October 22, 1999). Despite growth and integration, higher education still has a long way to go before it can be responsive to the needs, hopes and aspirations of diverse populations--particularly African Americans. Carnoy (1995) states that African Americans, especially African American males, are not reaping the benefits of higher education. He cites research that reveals that African American males are more likely to drop out of college than African American females and people from other racial groups. According to Carnoy, the reasons for low enrollment include "hostile environments" on campus; " a century of subordination and separation"; "inherent cultural incompatibility with white middle-class values"; and the idea that African American males are caught up in cycles of poverty, violence and despair (pp. 66-67).

Regardless of African American males' declining participation in higher education, the overall numbers of college students grew from 3.2 million in 1960 to 14.3 million in 1994. This significant increase can be attributed to the fact that America's democratic

ideals have inspired other racial and ethnic groups to expect that higher education will provide them with an opportunity to live the American dream too. According to the Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac (1996), people of color currently represent 24.6% of the overall racial/ethnic composition of American college students. The following table derived from data reported in the Chronicle of Higher Education (1996), highlights the growing presence of students from different ethnic and racial backgrounds on college campuses over a ten year period.

Table 3. Percentage of college student population by race/ethnicity-1984 and 1994

Race/Ethnicity	1984	1994
American Indian	.68	.89
Asian	3.2	5.4
Black	8.8	10.1
Hispanic	4.4	7.3
White	80.2	73.0
Foreign	2.7	3.2

As we enter into the year 2000, heightened resistance to affirmative action and decreasing support for HBCUs within higher education suggest that access for African Americans may be waning once again. A persistent series of legal challenges aimed at African Americans' attendance at PWCUs has continued to surface in the courts and so, as in the past, the extent and nature of African Americans' inclusion in higher education continues to be threatened. As usual, the law and the "justice" system have been intimately involved in shaping the direction of higher education by dismantling programs designed to open up opportunities to African Americans and others. The political arguments and ideologies have become more subtle and sophisticated. The campaigns to limit or end

affirmative action are well financed. Charges of "reverse discrimination" and feigned interests in eliminating "preferential treatment" have efficiently and effectively led to state referendums, legislation and other political actions to curtail the flow of African Americans into higher education.

Bell (1980) contends that legal decisions related to education have not produced the kind of social change desired by most African Americans. He argues that the law is not stable enough to insure that the rights of African Americans will be protected. Bell cautions us to realize that the use of the law for desegregation efforts is not synonymous with the use of the law for educational improvements. In the field of higher education he points to the rising number of racial harassment complaints; blatant physical violence, the lack of black faculty and administrators; and decreased funding for HBCUs as evidence of the law's inability to protect and affirm rights and opportunities for African Americans. Changing times demand new strategies and higher education is a focal point.

The fact that both African Americans and Whites tend to focus on higher education as a battleground for struggles about race, equality and policy is not unusual. Our formal system of education is in the forefront of these struggles because higher education can bestow access to wealth and power by issuing credentials and nurturing networks of the elite. Sklar (1995) reminds us that inequalities are still a reality in American society and that access to higher education for African Americans, indeed the problem of the color line, will still be a dilemma for America in the 21st century. She reports that, "only 13 percent of African Americans ages 25-29 have at least a college bachelor's compared with 25 percent Whites" (p.109). Barker and Jones (1994) note that "the poverty rate among black college graduates has also fluctuated around three times the poverty rate of their white cohorts" (p. 41).

In spite of its continued unequal access and success, higher education has served as a vehicle for social change by helping people to transform their lives through the power of education. Higher education is now more accessible to a wider range of people than ever

before. And in spite of their unequal citizenship and limited leadership roles, African American college graduates have helped to build African American communities and have markedly influenced the structure and culture of American society. In schools, churches and neighborhoods, African American teachers as graduates of colleges and universities have created a legacy by contributing greatly to African Americans' advancement. As role models and leaders who have educated both children and adults, African American teachers have clearly used education for the purposes of transformation.

African American Culture and the Teaching Profession

The contributions that African Americans have made to the teaching profession and higher education are evidence of the value of education, the heart of a country and the faith of a people. Stories about the investments that African Americans have made in education and the faith that they have had in the power of education to liberate a race of people and a nation are actually testimonies to what the human spirit can endure and achieve. Cole (1993) emphasizes that "the sacrifices African Americans have made for the sake of education are many and diverse, so much so that they have become a part of our folklore" (p. 163). Wade-Gayles (1993) says that her mother "sacrificed for one reason--to send us to college. We had one thing to do with our lives--achieve. Mama had what she called a 'single eye'; it focused on our education" (p. 17). In terms of vocation, both teaching and preaching have been considered as a "calling" among African Americans. Based on motivation, need, desire and access to a narrowly prescribed set of professions, the fact that African Americans have pursued college education and the teaching profession with great fervor is a theme that emerges clearly through the literature. Teaching has especially been regarded as a noble profession in the African American community because teachers in the community served as leaders who sought after liberation through education. In large part, African American teachers assumed the responsibility for supporting families and nurturing African American students by

developing their sense of self and their sense of collective work and responsibility. In the African American community, teaching is not just a job-it requires a much greater commitment to truth and change in addition to faith in a better future (Foster, 1999; Franklin, 1969; Greer, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Turner, 1997; Willie, 1986).

The idea that faith and education can transform the lives of a people and the soul of a nation has been a driving force for many African Americans who have attended college to become teachers. Rising to the challenge of the calling, African American teachers, aided by other sympathetic people, have spent many years and substantial resources (including the blood of ancestors) to fight against the unnatural and racist laws and customs of the land. There is a Negro Spiritual called "we've come this far by faith" and this song is often sung to encourage people to recognize the power of spirit and to persevere despite the trials and tribulations that one might face. There is also an African proverb that declares "s/he who learns, teaches". True to these cultural traditions, African American teachers have taught people how to keep the faith and how to use education as a tool for liberation. African Americans put their faith in education because it promised to be a ticket to a better life--both individually and collectively. V.P. Franklin (1984) declares that "to be educated and literate had an important cultural significance to Afro-Americans and was highly valued because of its association with advancement, self-determination, and freedom" (p. 175).

If culture is viewed as shared meaning, common values and perceptions among a group of people, then it can be said that African Americans have a distinct culture that is infused with its own ways of knowing, rituals, symbols, language and behaviors. Banks (1996) explains the connection between education and African culture when he says, "West African culture was propelled by the oral tradition. Cultural knowledge was accumulated and passed on from generation to generation through priests, respected elders, and storytellers. The socialization process for young people included sessions with elders who shared the cultural material necessary for life in the tribe. Intellectual continuity

flowed not through the study of great or sacred books but through recitation, lectures and dialogue" (p. 6). Thus, the culture itself also promoted the community's responsibility for education, and African Americans used the formal education system to reinforce values and to make progress. The shared cultural values and perspectives that have evolved through the African American experience and as manifested in African Americans' quest for formal education can be categorized in a number of ways.

White (1984) suggests that the African American "psychological perspective is characterized by seven interrelated dimensions which are: openness to self and others; tragedy and resilience; psychological connectedness and interdependence; the oral tradition; creative synthesis; fluid time perception; and the value of direct experience combined with respect for the elderly" (p. 2). Strickland (1979) suggests that African Americans' struggle has been instrumental in shaping aspects of African Americans' identity and culture. He says, "the struggle was the only valid means of keeping faith with our identity: the hymns of our church, the prayers of our elders and the blood of our martyrs" (p. 6). Gwaltney (1993) describes "core black culture" as the "mainstream" for African Americans. He asserts that the majority of African Americans are familiar with and would agree on the values and standards inherent in African American culture. Using the vernacular of African Americans, Gwaltney states,

> Core black culture is more than ad hoc synchronic adaptive survival. Its values, systems of logic and world view are rooted in a lengthy peasant tradition and clandestine theology. It is the notion of sacrifice for the kin, the belief in the natural sequence of cause and effect--'Don't nothin' go over the devil's back but don't bind him under the belly'. It is a classical, restricted notion of the possible. It esteems the deed more than the wish, venerates the 'natural man' over the sounding brass of machine technology and has the wit to know that 'Everybody talking 'bout Heaven ain't going there'. The expectations and canons of core black culture are arbiters of black intra-communal status and style (pp. xxvi-xxvii).

These cultural values, perspectives and styles are clearly evident in the teaching and learning process. The role of the teacher in transmitting culture is historic and for African Americans it comes out of African traditions of storytelling and the responsibilities of elders to educate future generations. Because of de jure and de facto segregation in neighborhoods and schools, African Americans have generally been the teachers for a large number of African American students. Historically, the majority of African Americans involved with the formal education system have been teachers in the kindergarten through twelfth grade (K-12) tier. Foster (1997) reports that in the K-12 school system in America, "between 1890 and 1910 the number of blacks who were employed as teachers rose from 15,100 to 66, 236" (p. xvii). She also notes that while teaching and preaching were the dominant professions for college educated African Americans, teaching was more open to the leadership of women. In the early 1900s, 76 percent of African American teachers in primary and secondary schools were women (p. xvii). Teaching was fundamental to the progress of African Americans and so there has always been an "army" of African American teachers on the front line of the struggle for liberation.

Sometimes in little one room schoolhouses and with the threat of losing their jobs, African American teachers took risks and taught students how to liberate their spirits, how to think critically, how to hold themselves and their race in high esteem and how to maintain their sense of responsibility to others in the face of a larger culture that offered them principles of inferiority and chains of oppression. Through education, African Americans have carried generations into the future by teaching and learning to break down the literal and figurative laws that were designed to promote white supremacist ideologies (Foster, 1997; Franklin, J., 1969; Franklin, V.P., 1984; hooks, 1994). Jones (1917) classifies African American teachers as leaders with influence and he says that African American teachers "occupy the most strategic position of all the social groups in any effort to improve the masses of Negroes" (p. 73). hooks (1994) explains the significant role that

teachers played in African Americans' struggle for social change when she says, "for black folks teaching--educating--was fundamentally political because it was rooted in antiracist struggle....we learned early that our devotion to learning, to a life of the mind, was a counter hegemonic act, a fundamental way to resist every strategy of white racist colonization" (p. 2). Bond (1934) says that "the Negro school-teacher was held in such veneration by his patrons that it was inevitable that he should become, with the local pastor, the voice of political leadership" (p. 31).

Teachers within the African American culture have been courageous visionaries who displayed leadership qualities through the most challenging of times. As King (1963) might say, they accomplished much through "the strength to love". According to King, the strength to love involves teaching people to have a "tough mind". He says that a "tough mind is sharp and penetrating; breaking through the crusts of legends and myths and sifting the true from the false. The tough-minded individual is astute and discerning. He has a strong, austere quality that makes for firmness of purpose and solidness of commitment" (p. 10). African American teachers taught students to be tough-minded by listening to them, by caring for them, and by viewing the knowledge cultivated through them as a source of power and growth. Next to parents and extended family, teachers were very influential in shaping the lives of African American children.

Bromery describes the importance of African American teachers in his life when he tells the story about how one of the teachers in his segregated school taught discipline and excellence in her class. He says,

> We had all Black teachers. In fact, one of my teachers is still living--she's about 102 or 103 years old now. She's probably the most important teacher I had because she taught us excellent English. She said if you can learn to read and write and comprehend, then you will be able to speak and write well and you'll really go far. She had strict discipline. If she thought you weren't paying attention or if you were making noise, she'd walk very quietly behind you and grab you

> by the shoulders and pinch you--it would wake you up. She'd say, 'Billy Bromery, you better pay attention'. She was very good (personal communication, April 14, 1999).

While teachers are by profession expected to impart knowledge, teaching in the African American culture included spirit as a central focus with the goals of developing character, building resilience, encouraging ambition and instilling a sense of morality and spirituality in the students. Anna Julia Cooper (1998), who taught at the secondary and college levels, describes the dedicated work of African American teachers and alludes to the element of spirit in teaching to promote character development by saying that "whether from force of circumstances or from choice and loving consecration, we are ministers of the Gospel of intelligence, of moral and material uplift to a people whose need is greater than the average need around us by reason of past neglect-a people who are habitually reasoned about en masse as separate, distinct, and peculiar; a people who must be fitted to make headway in the face of prejudice and proscription the most bitter, the most intense, the most unrelenting the world has ever seen" (p. 250). Consequently, scholars in the African American community have been greatly supported and the teaching profession has been highly regarded for its transformative value. The culture promoted education as a foundation for liberation. Spirit was the architect and teachers were builders of the future for the race.

African American teachers also encouraged self-knowledge, reminded students of their responsibility to others and guided them to be leaders in society. Crummell (1992) taught at several colleges in Africa and America, and he explains that he wanted to be a teacher because he wanted to "aid in training a class of young men rightly to fulfill the higher duties of Church and State" (p. 41). DuBois (1968), who taught elementary students in the rural South as well as college students at HBCUs, also viewed his role and responsibility as a teacher to be the development of students as leaders in the world. He said, "I sought in these years to know my world and to teach youth the meaning and the

way of the world" (p. 205). But in assessing his approach as a college teacher, DuBois viewed himself as having a greater emphasis on intellectual development than on spiritual development. He said that he had "a certain lack of sympathy and understanding" for his students. He explained that "I was for instance a good teacher. I stimulated inquiry and accuracy. I met every question honestly and never dodged an earnest doubt. I read my examination papers carefully and marked them with sedulous care. But I did not know my students as human beings; they were to me apt to be intellects and not souls" (p. 283).

While DuBois did not personally picture himself as appealing to the souls of his students, others recognized the influence that he had on students as a teacher who was capable of developing not just the intellect, but the aspirations of students too. In a letter written on DuBois' behalf, the President of Atlanta University where DuBois taught for 24 years, described his teaching abilities this way, "even more than this, was the stimulating personal influence of Doctor DuBois upon our students. He had acquired his own education where the highest standards prevailed, and he would tolerate no lower ones in his own classrooms. Not only in study but also in conduct, he demanded of his pupils the best that was in them" (p. 211). A graduate student and high school teacher named Louie Davis Shivery, who DuBois mentored to receive her master's degree in sociology from Atlanta University, extolled the virtues of DuBois as a scholar and his influence as a teacher when in a letter to him she said, "your majors in Sociology are serving in colleges, the government and national and international affairs. None are unemployed and not one has brought a blot of shame". "Atlanta University made me an educator and Dr. DuBois made me a sociologist" (L.S., archived personal communication, March 22, 1944).

Simmons, who taught language courses at the college level, also viewed teaching as an opportunity to expand students' horizons. She gives African American teachers in segregated schools in Texas the credit for her own high expectations and expanded horizons. Simmons said,

> When I started school in the city, I was immediately exposed to African Americans in very segregated communities who had been educated. For the first time, I saw African American physicians, dentists and teachers-lots of teachers, who had the experience of college life and those teachers, particularly at school, began to see for me the possibility of my going to college and they planted in my mind the idea that college would lead to something for me and that I was someone who could eventually go to college. That's really how I ended up in college.

She explained that her experiences of being a professor of languages in the cultural and geographic context of New Orleans was especially satisfying. Simmons said that "after my first year of teaching, I had a chance to get into the literature side, with a particular interest in African and Carribean writings. The cultural elements were exhilarating" (personal communication, April 12, 1999).

Wade-Gayles (1993) gives us a sense of the role and accomplishments of African American teachers when she contrasts her experiences as a student attending a PWCU with that of her experience at a HBCU. She describes the atmosphere of a HBCU as a place "where professors knew us by name and pushed us, confident of our performance, into rigorous academic challenges. At big universities students are often faces without names, and many professors are scholars without dedication to the faces without names. I had grown up in a learning environment where mentoring outside the classroom was every bit as important as lecturing inside the classroom, and creative teaching was as valued as a significant essay in a scholarly journal. Scholarship was not narrowly defined as publication. It included serious preparation for lectures that would inspire students to pursue excellence and the highest of goals" (p. 124).

Simmons also says that the climate at HBCUs was conducive to developing her leadership capabilities. She says that the people at Dillard University were like a "surrogate family" to her and that in response to her rebellious attitude, teachers and the administration recognized her talents in ways that allowed her to grow. She explains, "the

fact that I could do that in that environment and that they would tolerate it is the reason I developed leadership skills that I have because I don't think that a person with my attitude in 1963, 64 and 65 would have gotten very far on a white campus at all. On this Black campus, they nurtured these skills because they knew it was important to do that. So I think that was a pivotal experience for me--developing the wherewithal to express myself, to believe in myself and feel confident about what I could do. That's what Dillard gave me that I think probably no other place could at the time, given my circumstance" (personal communication, April 7, 1999).

In segregated schools at all levels, African American teachers with high expectations taught students more than reading, writing and arithmetic. They also taught students how to resist the forces that defined and limited them. Cultural traditions including song, oral narratives, storytelling and affirmations were embraced and employed by African American teachers to build the capacity of students to transgress and to struggle for personal and social transformation. Several scholars have recognized distinct aspects of African American teachers' practice including the connection between culture and education as a force for liberation (Foster, 1997; Hale, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Ladson-Billings (1994) advocates for "culturally relevant" teaching because she says "the primary aim of culturally relevant teaching is to assist in the development of a 'relevant black personality' that allows African American students to choose academic excellence yet still identify with African and African American culture. Specifically, culturally relevant teaching is a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (pp. 17-18). "Culturally relevant" teaching is indeed essential for the development of African Americans and others. In fact, the concept really seems like an adequate term to describe the historic and enduring good practices of African American teachers as scholar-activists who routinely honored and used African American culture to develop the capacities of their students.

hooks (1994), who says that "from grade school on, I was destined to become a teacher", developed the concept of "teaching to transgress" as a way to describe African Americans' approach to teaching and the teacher's role as an activist. As hooks describes it, teaching to transgress was designed to help students to use education as a tool for breaking the law--literally and figuratively. hooks (1994) says that "those of us who wanted to make racial equality a reality in every area of our life were threats to the social order. We were proud of ourselves, proud of our willingness to transgress the rules, proud to be courageous" (p. 24). As history revealed, it was actually African American students educated in segregated schools and graduates of higher education who transgressed by instigating and leading the infamous *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) Supreme Court case. As a matter of fact, because of the leadership of college graduates who employed teaching techniques in the classroom and the courtroom, the American system of education was transformed as well as the personal and collective lives of many people.

Wade-Gayles (1993) eloquently describes the connection between African Americans teachers and the African American culture when she defines the role of African American teachers as "revolutionary leaders". She says,

> I attribute our arrogance not only to our parents, but also to black teachers who were tough, challenging, and uncompromising in their insistence on excellent academic performance and exemplary character. They kept us in after-school detention for infractions as minor as chewing gum, being tardy, and speaking barely above a whisper during silent time. They visited our homes, sometimes unexpectedly to 'tell on us' or to praise us. If revolutionaries are people who work to change a system, to bring it down, black teachers were quiet revolutionaries (p. 9).

My uncle Alton Joseph also spoke fondly of the teachers that nurtured and challenged him in his segregated school setting in Mississippi. He cited one teacher in

particular that told him that "you can't hide behind being Black--you have to know that you can excel just as well as any other person". In deciding to become a teacher, he said that he viewed "teaching as a major thing for a Black person to do". He wanted to carry the high expectations that African American teachers had for him into the classroom so that other African American students would rise to the challenge and fulfill their potentials (personal communication, October 3, 1999). Bromery says that in his segregated school, "I took Negro history so I knew about Negroes like Charles Drew who discovered ideas about blood plasma and Benjamin Banneker who laid out the city of Washington, D.C." (personal communication, April 4, 1999).

Other scholar-activists also reported receiving encouragement, knowledge and inspiration from African American teachers in segregated schools. hooks (1994) says that "my all black grade schools became the location where I experienced learning as revolution" (p. 2). Wade-Gayles (1993) refers to the pride that African American teachers instilled in African American children when she says, "Unlike black students in today's inner-city schools, we never had a reason to chant, 'I am somebody'. I may be black, but I am somebody!'. That we were special and destined for distinction of some kind was a belief our teachers required us to learn in bold black conspiratorial lesson plans" (p. 9).

Palmer (1998) cautions us, though, to regard teaching practice as more than a technical skill. He says that "good teaching cannot be reduced to technique; good teaching comes from the identity and integrity of the teacher" (p. 10). Palmers' assertion is based on the idea that *good* teachers can make connections with students not just through their heads, but through their hearts. He says that the heart is "the place where intellect and emotion and spirit will converge in the human self" (p. 11). Based on Palmer's definition, many African American teachers have not only had the technical skills to teach, but they have been *good* teachers who sought to transform people, organizations, communities and systems by using spiritual principles and affirming cultural traditions to create nurturing environments that made connections between the minds, bodies and spirits of the students.

Gates (1994) comes from a family where formal education was stressed and teaching was admired. He says that his great grandmother loved to read and "she worshipped education". "She decided to send her three daughters to Washington to get a formal education; she kept the boy at home to run the farm...two went to Howard, the other to Morgan. Two became teachers, the other a nurse" (p. 72). Gates also alludes to the reverence of the segregated schools and African American teachers in his community when he discusses the impact of integration in the 1950s. He explains that the local school board moved quickly to integrate the schools after the separate but equal law (*Brown vs. the Board of Education*) was struck down by the Supreme Court. He contends that this expedience was fortunate "because everybody colored was devoted to Howard High School. They liked the teachers, they liked the principal, they liked the building and the basketball team. They liked its dignity and pride" (p. 91). Gates' suggestion is that, given a chance to contemplate the true implications of integration, African Americans may have insisted on maintaining separate schools.

In terms of formal education and its progressive impact on the development of African Americans, studies reveal that integration has, in many ways, been a detriment to African Americans' progress and cultural development. With segregated schools, the cultural ethos and liberatory purposes of Black people could be transmitted and reinforced within the educational setting as well as the home, church and community. This special knowledge and cultural reinforcement led to a healthy sense of self and others and also served to help African Americans to advance in educational and community settings. In segregated schools, African Americans were rewarded for their knowledge of self and their own history and for making connections between what they were learning and the actions that are needed to help the race to make social, economic, and political progress. The culture of these institutions supported and affirmed the African American beliefs and attitudes that the students held. In predominantly white school settings, many African Americans are expected (and in some cases forced) to adopt a different cultural

perspective. Their feelings, attitudes and behaviors are not acceptable and students are often punished by low and failing grades when they do not conform to Eurocentric worldviews and expectations. High rates of attrition from schools at all levels are a result and the alleged inferiority of African Americans is touted as the reason for the "failures" (Foster, 1997; Hale, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1994).

hooks (1994) says that "school changed utterly with racial integration. Gone was the messianic zeal to transform our minds and beings that had characterized teachers and their pedagogical practices in our all-black schools" (p. 3). She also points out that education shifted from being "the practice of freedom" to education that "merely strives to reinforce domination" (p. 4). hooks describes well the dissonance that African Americans have felt in integrated school settings with teachers that do not have the liberation of African Americans on their minds or in their hearts. Ladson-Billings (1994) says that "the public schools have yet to demonstrate a sustained effort to provide quality education for African Americans. Despite modest gains in standardized test scores, the performance of African Americans in public schools, even those from relatively high-income stable families, remains behind that of whites from similar homes" (p. 4). Educators are calling for more culturally relevant teaching to combat the declining academic performance of African Americans in formal school settings.

The role of African American teachers is even more critical today. When I interviewed Terrell Hill as the participant for my pilot study, I asked him why he thought it was important to teach African American children about African American history. Hill eloquently expressed the reasons that such a focus is important, the role that education can play today in the liberation of African Americans and his motivation to be a teacher. He said,

> I'm always thinking about how rotten we've been treated throughout history and we can't even get an apology. I hate the stereotypes. We built this country, but they say we're

> lazy. I mean you wronged me and I can't even seek justice. It's like Solomon says in Ecclesiastics, sometimes, the more education I get, the sadder I become. Education can be depressing and inspiring. You start to see the real impact that slavery and racism have had on the psyche of people. It affects our goals and relationships. Black men have really been treated bad from lynching to all the brothers are in jail now. Sometimes I feel overwhelmed by it. But then I look at my grandfather who had a second grade education and I admire him because I know that he sacrificed a lot for us. And I'm doing the same thing. I'm not just going to college and living for myself. I'm trying to build something for my children. What I'm going through is not just for me. It's for future generations too (personal communication, October, 1997).

Teaching and learning are no longer given the respect that they once were. hooks (1994) says that "there is a serious crisis in education" (p. 12). In formulating her ideas and conclusions about education "as the practice of freedom", hooks draws heavily on the role that African American teachers have played as leaders interested in developing the intellectual and spiritual aspects of their students. Reflecting on her own teaching practices, hooks (1994) makes a connection between teaching to transgress and teaching to transform and she explains the dissonance that can be present in integrated higher education settings when she says,

> while I wanted teaching to be my career, I believed that personal success was intimately linked with self-actualization. My passion for this quest led me to interrogate constantly the mind/body split that was so often taken to be a given. Most professors were often deeply antagonistic toward, even scornful of, any approach to learning emerging from a philosophical standpoint emphasizing the union of mind, body, and spirit, rather than the separation of these elements. Like many of the students I now teach, I was often told by powerful academics that I was misguided to seek such a perspective in the academy (p. 18).

Aside from the impact on students and teaching practices, integration also had negative effects on African Americans who were devoted to the teaching profession. As schools at all levels were integrated, African American teachers were the ones who lost their jobs and their ability to contribute to the liberation of African Americans through teaching. Foster (1997) states that "the first eleven years of desegregation were later found to have had devastating effects on the number of black teachers in the seventeen Southern and border states. In that period alone, more than 30,000 black teachers lost their jobs" (p. xxxviii). While African Americans were historically employed at HBCUs in large numbers, integration also opened up opportunities for faculty to teach at PWCUs. There seems to be consensus that HBCUs today can not compete for top faculty, especially for those scholars who may be interested in and qualified for more research, development and publication activities (Suggs, 1996).

The historic role of African American scholars as teachers and leaders is seriously waning as we move into the year 2000. Greer (1994) reports that the number of African Americans entering the teaching professions is declining due to a number of factors including wider employment opportunities for African American college graduates; the impact of teacher testing; the low status and salaries available to teachers; and the declining number of African Americans going to college. Moreover, in the 1990s, of about 439,000 African American teachers in primary and secondary schools, only about 20 percent are male. Some inner city school districts are populated by student bodies that are largely people of color with most of the teachers being from different cultures. In my own hometown, the student body is about 40 percent Latino and 30 percent African American. The teaching staff is more than 70 percent White and high suspension, failure and drop-out rates are commonplace. Teacher-student relationships are problematic and academic achievement suffers as large numbers of teachers view their positions as merely a job with a paycheck attached. Ladson-Billings (1994) says that "the pattern for some teachers is to

endure a teaching assignment in an inner-city school until they can find a position in a more affluent district with fewer children of color" (p 53).

Hill explained well the role and responsibility of African American teachers as faithful scholar-activists who serve as leaders and he alluded to the reasons for his own persistence in higher education so that he can be an effective teacher. Viewing teaching as more than a job, with sincerity and conviction, Hill said,

> Well, since I was eighteen years old I wanted to be a teacher. I think that I have some God given talents when it comes to expressing myself so people can understand me. My goal is to be the next Malcolm X or Martin Luther King. Really I see myself as a cross between the two. Then too, I'm really living a Black mother's dream. My mother wanted to go to college and she wanted me to go to college. She also taught me a lot about the importance of being spiritual and I think that God has given me a boldness of attitude. I'm grounded in Christ and that's my way of handling the rage and anger that I sometimes feel as a Black man. Teachers are the front line for the passage of culture. As a teacher in my classroom, I have power. I can affect the future of students by what I do in public schools and colleges. I think my White students and Black students love me because I'm straight up honest with them...My calling in life by God is for me to say something, to speak up-if we want to get real dramatic-then I'll be the voice crying in the wilderness. It's easy to give up. Everyone doesn't have the wherewithal, the God given ability or faith in God to keep going in spite of. That's the faith that keeps me trying to get to the other side. I will die fighting.

hooks (1994) points to the historic paucity of African Americans teaching within higher education when she says, "as a young, black woman in the segregated South, I thought--and my parents thought--that I would return to that world and be a teacher in the public school. But there was never any idea that I could be a university professor because, truth be told, we didn't know of any black women university professors" (p. 133). One of the reasons that African Americans have not been teachers in large numbers within higher education is the fact that college professors typically must have doctorate degrees to qualify for teaching positions. Willie et al (1991) give us a glimpse of the broad trends in

higher education with regard to the number of Africans Americans receiving doctorate degrees. They note that only 57 African Americans received doctorate degrees during the Depression (1930-39) and then, during the 1960s and 1970s, specific legislation and student aid programs helped to increase the number of Ph.D.s to about 1,000 annually. In 1978, the number of African Americans awarded doctorates began to decline and by 1988, only 805 African Americans received Ph.D.s (p. 3-5).

African American scholars involved in American higher education today are still relatively scarce, but the numbers are growing. According to the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education (Spring 1995), "the number of African Americans earning Ph.D.s reached a 10 year high in 1993 posting a significant increase of 15 percent from 961 in 1992 to 1,106 in 1993" (p. 58). Not surprisingly, African Americans earning doctorates have concentrated their scholarship in the field of education. The legacy of African American teachers and the cultural expectation for African American teachers to serve as leaders have surely contributed to this trend. Based on data presented by the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education (Spring 1995), Table 4 shows the percentage of African Americans earning doctorates in 1993 by selected fields of study.

Table 4. Percentage of African Americans with doctorate degrees by fields of study-1993

Fields of Study	Percentage
Education	46.3
Social Sciences	18.5
Sciences and Engineering	7.4

According to the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education (1993), there were about 25,000 full-time African American faculty members representing 4.7 percent of all faculty

in 1991--an increase of .5 percent from 1981. The reported data also reveals that African American faculty are concentrated in the lower ranks of the professoriate and that African American faculty are falling behind White faculty in terms of tenure status. Specifically, 61 percent of all African American faculty had tenure in 1981 compared to 70 percent of all White faculty. In 1991, the respective percentages of faculty with tenure were 58 percent for African American faculty and 72 percent for white faculty. There are about 12,000 African American administrators in higher education representing 8.7 percent of all administrators. Interestingly enough, the number of African Americans who hold administrative positions within higher education increased by 53 percent from 1981-1991 (p. 57-58).

Palmer (1998) says that "teaching and learning are critical to our individual and collective survival and to the quality of our lives" (p. 3). With integration, African Americans are struggling to survive in predominantly White institutions and/or to create institutions that embrace an Afrocentric world view so that healthy personalities can be sustained beyond the family and community environment. Sustained affirmation of African American cultural ethos in schools is essential to the mental health and success of African Americans, especially the children. Hopson and Hopson (1990) illustrate the primacy of this idea when they say that "sometimes when Black adolescents try to cope with the frustration and humiliation of racism, they are labeled as having certain mental difficulties. In reality, they are dealing quite rationally with the stresses in their environment" (p. 188-190). They suggest that depression, paranoia, difficulty in concentrating, changes in appetite, isolation, alienation, anger and bitterness are manifested in Black children who are not affirmed in predominantly white environments. Academic achievement is clearly affected and these feelings and behaviors can also lead to violence, destruction and death. There seems to be ample opportunity for African Americans and others who want to save children to become more involved with teaching and leadership in higher education.

hooks (1994) suggests that "classroom settings can be transformed so that the learning experience is inclusive" (p. 35). As Hill says, teachers are the people on the front lines with the responsibility for developing our human resources. If the important role of teachers and the power of education are acknowledged and more fully understood, then perhaps, we can once again attract people to the teaching profession who really want to transform someone's life-regardless of skin color. Palmer (1998) says that "spirituality--the human quest for connectedness--is not something that needs to be 'brought into' or 'added onto' the curriculum. It is at the heart of every subject we teach where it waits to be brought forth" (p. 8). Teachers at all levels must gain understanding and seek wisdom so they will be able to nurture the spirit and teach to transform.

The Spirit of Transformation

The characterization of African American scholars as activists and leaders is frequently represented in the literature, however, the *spirit* of the scholarship and activism demands to be revealed. Spirit is a life force that can be viewed from many different perspectives. One can see human beings as a body with a spirit or as a spirit with a body. For African Americans, spirit has been a central resource for survival and growth. It is through the spiritual realm that African Americans have found solace in a hostile environment. Imagine being enslaved, maimed, beaten, raped, castrated, murdered, burned, imprisoned and ostracized for more than 300 years--all because of the color of your skin! The impact of these punishments on the psyche and culture of people and the nation has been tremendous--both in negative and positive ways. African Americans know about suffering and they also know about love. Unduly punished in the larger temporal environment, the creation of a spiritual environment and a collective consciousness have been essential to African Americans' well-being and development.

The learning process and cultural norms of African Americans have evidently evolved from our African heritage, and the teaching practices inherent in the culture have

also evolved from our need to create an affirmative environment that is contrary to the larger negative environment. Consequently, family, collectiveness, community action and spirit are prominent and encompassing. Hale (1994) contends that any attempt to understand the cultural values and religious experiences of African Americans must begin in Africa because it is those experiences combined with the American experience that has shaped African American culture. In explaining the pervasiveness of faith and spirit in the African American culture, Hale says that "faith is particularly strong when a people feel a lack of control over their lives. The absence of power helped to perpetuate the slaves' sacred universe and to intensify their search for supernatural aid and solutions" (p. 139). Faith then is a "superhuman" phenomenon and it reaches beyond the rationality of the mind into the realm of the heart and soul.

In particular, African Americans have especially focused on being human through the spiritual dimensions of life involving such things as love, faith, courage, hope, sacrifice and peace. Meyers (1988) suggests that "the Afrocentric paradigm fits into the category of a "higher" Fourth Psychology, as called for by Maslow. It is transpersonal, transhuman, and centered in the cosmos" (p. 23). According to Meyers, to understand the development of African American teachers who embraced the spirit inherent in African American culture and who manifested this spirit in their teaching philosophies and practices, one must look through a lens that is beyond the humanistic realm. What one will see is an internal spiritual dimension. Everything revolves around the spirit. Spirit is ever present and it is a powerful force for identity and action. Meyers says that "ancient Africans built a system of education on their belief in the summum bonum, or greatest good. For these ancestors, the purpose of education was to teach ways to achieve everlasting peace and happiness" (p. 4). For African Americans then, the teaching process is about more than training the mind, it is also about liberating the spirit and encouraging people to "think with heart".

Therefore, a remarkable aspect of studying the lives of African American scholar-activists is that African American culture embraces this internal spiritual dimension that cannot be ignored. Webster's dictionary (1990) defines spirit as "the life principle especially in human beings; life, will, thought, etc. as separate from matter; supernatural being" (p. 569). Meyers (1988) defines the spirit as a permeating essence that is known in an extrasensory fashion. It is transpersonal, transhuman, and centered in the cosmos" (p. 23). In the language of African American culture, spirit is a rhythm--a way of being--it is endearingly known as "soul". We are soul sisters and brothers. We have soul music and we eat soul food. We bless our souls. Crummell (1898) speaks to the "need to feed the soul" (p. 4). In her book, My Soul is a Witness, Wade-Gayles (1995) explains that spirit is "like the wind, it cannot be seen, and yet, like the wind, it is surely there and we bear witness to its presence, its power" (p. 2).

Spirit for African Americans has been a weapon and a shield. The Christian Bible says "for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places" (Ephesians 6:12). The fight then is not carnal, but spiritual. The battle is not ours, but the Lord's. According to the Bible, the armor that is needed for this fight is the helmet of salvation, the breastplate of righteousness, loins of truth and feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. The shield is faith and the sword of the Spirit is the word of God (Ephesians 6:14-17). This conception of spirituality allows Black people to fight against adverse circumstances and the negative reflections that the larger environment offers in exchange for an inner place of being that connects us to each other and to God as a higher power. In the African American culture, spirit is ubiquitous, amorphous and powerful. Education has been central to the spirit of transformation.

Historical accounts, present day realities and hope for the future are all woven together by examples of the far reaching spiritual faith that African Americans have placed in education as a tool for liberation. This faith is religiously expressed but it is more

than dogma. It is a part of African American's heritage and it transcends the idea of religion and extends itself to the breadths and depths of life itself, sustaining African Americans, individually and collectively, through unrelenting trials and tribulations. Cooper (1998) describes her view of faith by saying, "to me, faith means *treating the truth as true*. Jesus *believed* in the infinite possibilities of an individual soul. His faith was a triumphant realization of the eternal development of the best in man-an optimistic vision of human aptitude for endless expansion and perfectability" (p. 193). The Christian Bible defines faith as "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews 11:1). This view of faith is indicative of the kind of faith that African Americans have strengthened over time as a defense to continuous attacks on the physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual aspects of their being (Harding, 1981; King, 1963; West, 1994).

Asante (1988) further illuminates this notion of faith and spirituality within African American ethos by pointing out that "we are a people who appreciate the continuum of the spirit and matter; we do not distinguish between them. Indeed, our spirit, a personalism and humanism, animates matter as well as spirit" (p. 20). Thus, the motivations and accomplishments of African Americans, both individually and collectively, are inextricably tied to the development of a personality that embraces this spirituality as a source of power. Ritscher (1986) plainly points out the power of spirit when he says, "it is often spirit rather than physical competence that determines the outcome of a sporting event" (p. 59). He links spirit to organizations and leaders by saying that "the spirit of an organization is in its heart, its vital nature. Spirit is a sense of vitality, energy, vision and purpose....the qualities of leadership are inner, spiritual qualities. They do not involve 'doing' as much as 'being'" (p. 60).

Spirituality (beyond religion) for African Americans has become a way of being *and* doing. In fact, religion itself has been a double-edged sword for African Americans. One the one hand, Christianity was used by others to justify the enslavement and mistreatment of African Americans. On the other hand, it was used by African Americans

as an ingredient for cultural development. Slavemasters allowed (and many times demanded) that slaves participate in religious services so that they could understand their place in the universe. This form of religion was designed to serve the interests of the masters including doctrine that focused on the divine superiority of Whites over African Americans. African Americans, though, brought with them from Africa some particular views about the nature of the universe--there is good and there is evil. Combining traditional African beliefs with Christianity led African Americans to create a religious belief and a spiritual faith that has been a sustaining force and a contributor to the development of African Americans as human beings (Franklin, V.P., 1984).

The significance of the church as an institution in African American culture is well documented (Frazier, 1964; Lincoln, 1970; Walker, 1979). While there exist clear lines of demarcation between the various denominations, V.P. Franklin (1984) states that "among those Afro-Americans who believed they could, indeed, call themselves 'Christians', there developed a theological and ethical system based on their perception of what was right and wrong in the world around them. The ultimate truth of these teachings, which they considered 'Christian' was a matter of faith" (p. 52). Felder (1993) says that "the black religious experience also has denotative coherence that distinguishes it from the religious experience of other racial groups....The black religious experience typically considers the supernatural as a mere extension of the natural order. It seeks harmony with (not dominance over) nature, reveres ancestors, rejoices in rhythm, and takes both spirituality and the afterlife seriously" (p. vii). This spirituality is reflected in the songs, stories and sayings that are passed down from generation to generation by our elders. Walker (1979) stresses that "the religious music of Afro-Americans, past and present is geared to liberation themes" (p. 24). The song and the spoken word, as well as the written word, builds hope and teaches faith. In fact, music is a clear way to reach and nurture the spirit. According to Walker, "music is one of the three major support systems in Black Church worship. Preaching and praying are the other two" (p. 22). The songs shared during the

Civil Rights movement are examples of how African Americans used their faith in a higher power to confront their fears and to press for justice. The words of these songs,--"we are soldiers in the army, we got to fight, we got to hold on to freedom",-- are part of a continuing oral tradition that facilitates learning and nurtures human development.

Ritscher (1986) suggests that to move forward as a nation we need spiritual leadership, and he describes spirituality as "an experience of depth of life; it is living with heart rather than superficiality" (p. 61). Martin Luther King (1963) describes the spiritual faith possessed by African Americans and the importance of this spiritual dimension to the development of African Americans when he says, "faith in the dawn arises from the faith that God is good and just. When one believes this, he knows that the contradictions of life are neither final nor ultimate. He can walk through the dark night with the radiant conviction that all things work together for good for those that love God" (p. 65). The Christian Bible says that we must "be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind" (Romans 12:2). King (1963) contrasts conformity with transformation when he says that "the hope of a secure and livable world lies with disciplined nonconformists, who are dedicated to justice, peace, and brotherhood. The trailblazers in human, academic, scientific and religious freedom have always been nonconformists". He suggests that "only through an inner spiritual transformation do we gain the strength to fight vigorously the evils of the world in a humble and loving spirit". King says that what the world needs now is "a dedicated circle of transformed nonconformists" and he urges us to depend on a "living God" to achieve transformation (p. 23).

Emerging afrocentric theories suggest that human development through an African American experience is based on a different paradigm than the one that theorists such as Freud operated within. Meyers (1988) contends that all psychologists develop their theories based on certain underlying cultural experiences and beliefs. She characterizes Freud's psychoanalytic theories that emphasize sex and aggression as powerful forces in

shaping the development and function of personality. In contrast, an afrocentric view of the development and function of personality emphasizes self-knowledge that is obtained by interdependence with human and spiritual networks. She says that African Americans "lose the sense of individualized ego/mind, and experience harmony of the collective identity of being one with the source of all good" (p. 12). White says, "the African world view begins with a holistic conception of the human condition. There is no mind-body or affective-cognitive dualism" (p. 5). The spirit is infinitely connected with the physical and the intellectual. Peters (1991) explains that "we can teach mainly that spiritual systems are processes which help us to understand how all things in the cosmos are connected; that what we do to or for anyone or anything, we are also doing to ourselves" (p. 25). In terms of leadership, he calls on us to develop "a new courage of the spiritual intellect" (p. 59).

Of course, African Americans are not the only people to believe in, experience and rely on the spirit. But the racially based atrocities inflicted upon African Americans over a sustained period of time give African Americans a particular perspective and a distinctive quality. Clark Kerr (1994), former chancellor of the California system of public higher education and noted expert on higher education, said, "I met congregations in the black churches. There I felt great faith and hope and tolerance and a spirit of love. I was amazed that a people treated so badly for so long could still be so kind to others" (p. 152). Actually, African Americans have always been and continue to be among the "care" givers and servants in American society. As mammies, maids, butlers, nurses aids, janitors, teachers, child care workers, and more, African Americans have been expected to serve humanity, and they have done so to the utmost with great affection, concern and empathy. Peters (1991) says that "heroic ancestors have bequeathed a noble spiritual legacy" to students and that they must be nurtured by this legacy (p 24). Mitchell and Cooper-Lewter (1986) explain that regardless of religious denomination, "the heart of American Black culture is soul theology" which means that "African culture has for centuries understood society as a literally extended family, sharing despite desperate need of their own" (p. x).

The breadth and depth of the African American experience has yielded to a culture that is ripe with peace, love, courage, service and sacrifice (West, 1994). Asante (1988) confirms the primacy of spirit in African American culture when he says that "as a people, our cherished and most valuable achievements are achievements of the spirit" (p. 43).

Acknowledging this spiritual force in the lives of African Americans can help us to understand more about the significance of spiritual transformation and about the ways that we can combine spirit and intellect in "higher" education to deliberately prepare scholar-activists for teachers and leaders in service to humanity. In analyzing the learning process and the components of African American culture, Asante (1988) notes that the cultural environment for African Americans contains "the songs, poems, stories, sermons, and proverbs that demonstrate our ancestors inexorable movement toward the humanizing function" (p. 7). Consequently, teaching for transformation requires a mind, body, spirit connection. For African Americans and others, teaching to transform can be viewed as the next step after teaching to transgress. Transformation is about discovering the essence of humanity through spiritual wholeness. Crummell (1992) writes that there is an "inward spirit of intelligence" and that "for man to properly develop the spiritual capacity in himself, he must learn to possess himself". Crummell terms such spiritual knowledge as "right-mindedness" (p. 172). Mitchell and Cooper-Lewter (1986) also explain how African Americans use the intellect and the spirit in a cultural context to manifest the process of transformation. They say,

> for too long, too many religious leaders of the Western world have assumed that spiritual wholeness and emotional balance could be achieved by rational argument. No matter what lip service may have been paid to other means, this was the basic approach. Yet the persons who have borne the stress most notably in our society have been nurtured and equipped for life by a kit of affirmations taught spontaneously in a stream of culture. It is true, of course, that if teaching had been incoherent it would not have survived. So reason was not abandoned here. However, the primary appeal of these affirmations of faith lay not in their coherence but in their ability to sustain life and make it worth living (p. 171).

Transformation requires that we get not only knowledge and understanding, but that we develop wisdom as well. Knowledge is information, understanding is discernment and wisdom is knowing what to *do* with information and understanding. The spirit that leads us to wisdom is a mystery, yet it is real because it holds answers to life's dilemmas and questions, and it connects us to our "higher" selves and to each other. Palmer (1983) says that "scholars now understand that knowing is a profoundly communal act" (p. xv). Education in the African American community has been everyone's responsibility. Parents sacrificed, teachers protested, scholars studied and students endured. Many African American scholar-activists prayed and had someone who prayed for them. African Americans also gained knowledge, understanding and wisdom from streams of affirmations that spoke to the spirit. Within African American culture, hearing and repeating "sayings" such as "lifting as we climb; I ain't no ways tired; I shall not be moved; my God delivered Daniel didn't he?; drylongso; trouble don't last always; joy comes in the morning; keep your eyes on the prize; we are troubled on every side, yet not distressed, we are perplexed; but not in despair; persecuted but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; you will reap what you sow, what a mighty God we serve!"--kept us moving forward with faith. And the elders admonish us to remember that education is something that no one can take away from you.

Mitchell and Cooper-Lewter (1986) implore us to consider that "the most completely overlooked aspect of Soul is its cultural view of the world--its folk theology. Blacks, stereotypically admired for their excellence in song, dance, and sports, have a well-tested set of internal convictions quite different from the majority culture and class" (p. ix). They emphasize that God is omnipotent and powerful in African American belief systems and through case studies they reveal that African Americans' distinct core belief system guides behavior and shapes perspective for individuals and the collective race. God is the ultimate teacher and leader. For African Americans, "the most trusted and treasured

word about life here on earth is that God is in charge" (p. 14). The *spiritual* music of African Americans has transformative power precisely because it plumbs the depth of our souls and cultivates faith, love, sacrifice and service in our hearts and our minds.

Webster's dictionary (1990) defines the action verb transform as "to change the form or appearance of; to change the condition, character or function of" (p. 627). Transformation as used in this study is defined as a change produced by drawing on and using the resources of the spirit. Change is for good--not evil. The change associated with transformation is usually of an internal nature and it can be manifested at many levels. From the person to the organization to the community to the society--transformation means that a metamorphosis takes place. Transformation is not instantaneous, it is a process that involves integrity and patience, teaching and learning. In his I Have a Dream Speech, King (1967) spoke to us about more than being judged by the content of our character. He urged us to recognize that "with this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood" (p. 219). Faith is a key ingredient in the process of transformation.

gwynelle (1995) says,

> a dramatic leap forward in our society can only come from the ideas and actions of transformed individuals. This process of transformation is nothing more than a shifting focus in order to see something we have not seen before, or to see more clearly what we have been looking at all along. It is changing our perceptions and responses to life based on new information gained from new experiences. It is gaining access to the eternal transformative power of the universe and seeing it mirrored in our lives, and in the corresponding evolutionary forward movement of mankind" (p. xx).

We have to be centered and grounded in something, why not the spirit? If we can walk in tune with the rhythm of nature and stand on the power of spirit, then we can ignite peace

and know joy. Teachers as scholar-activists can plant the seeds that will help us to live through the spirit of transformation.

The Significance of African American Teachers as Scholar-Activists

Hale (1994) says that "it is clear that a spark that is nurtured in one generation has a multiplier effect in subsequent generations" (p. 121). From the Civil War to the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans have not only served as teachers who have transgressed, they have served as leaders who have transformed American institutions. Bennis and Nanus (1985) explain that various theories and definitions of leadership have emerged over time, but in the end they say "like love, leadership continues to be something that everyone knew existed but nobody could define it" (p. 5). Krause (1997) says that leadership can be defined as the "will to control events, the understanding to chart a course, and the power to get the job done, cooperatively using the skills and abilities of other people" (p. 3). This sounds exactly like a job description for a teacher!

My perspective of teachers as leaders comes from a worldview that sees the existing social structure as being developed and maintained by a select few "leaders" *acting* on their own knowledge and visions of the world. Leaders have power. This power can come from positions with legitimate authority, from passion about an issue, from expert knowledge, from followers and also from plain old intimidation and violence. The public policy decisions that guide the content and context of our lives are being made by people who are considered to be leaders, therefore, it is important that we consciously nurture and prepare scholar-activists to be the kind of leaders that can move us more fully toward the goodness of humanity. African American scholar-activists have been exemplars. The purpose and nature of leadership have been magnified through African Americans' struggle for human and civil rights.

Through strategies based on distinct cultural strengths, including spiritual fortitude, African Americans have forced the nation to deal with the fundamental issues of

right and wrong in relation to human rights. For African Americans, morality has extended beyond the rational management of one's emotions to the essence of the spiritual world where "all things work together for them who love God". The role and responsibility of teachers as scholar-activists was not to find a place to perch in the ivory tower or a classroom stage on which they could pontificate to aggrandize their egos. Instead, for African Americans, the role of teachers as scholar-activists involved challenging the development of people's minds, bodies and spirits and joining with others who wanted to be leaders and who could plant seeds for progressive social change.

Record (1954) contrasts the choices and experiences of white intellectuals with African American intellectuals. He says,

> white intellectuals are generally free to make choices concerning their participation in social movements. They can decide first of all whether or not they will engage in any kind of organized social action consciously aimed at introducing social changes. In addition they can exercise a wide amount of discretion in selecting areas and organizations in which they will undertake action. This choice is a consequence of the fact that there is not either a specific personal grievance or constant group pressures propelling the white intellectual in the direction of discontent and protest. The Negro intellectual by contrast has a grievance that is specific and constant, his identification with an oppressed racial minority (p. 283).

Out of necessity and choice, African American scholar-activists have used higher education as a vehicle for social change by not only influencing public policy, but most importantly, by teaching others about the knowledge, skills, attitudes, qualities and competencies needed for progressive leadership. In describing latter generations of Black intellectuals' choices to focus on higher education rather than politics as a vehicle for social change, Boynton (1995) says that "outstanding students who ten years before would most likely have become political activists instead pursued academic careers. As a

result, many developed an intellectual style with a decidedly activist edge: in the university but not completely of it, theirs is scholarship with a social purpose" (p. 64).

Within the realm of higher education, African Americans have a distinctive legacy of teaching to change the conditions of people and the nation. Teaching for the purpose of transformation has meant that African Americans have approached the educational process in some different and far-reaching ways, and their accomplishments highlight the significance of teachers as scholar-activists. This study highlights four significant manifestations of African American scholar-activists' collective influence on higher education. Each of these accomplishments are described here to pay homage to the contributions that African Americans have made to higher education and to identify lessons that can be learned and applied to move us forward in the 21st century. These accomplishments are:

* the success of HBCUs in educating leaders
* the advent of black studies programs
* the development of holistic pedagogy
* the creation of publications and organizations relevant to African Americans' liberation

Success of HBCUs

The legacy of HBCUs in preparing a cadre of African American leaders who have assumed positions in local communities and in the larger society has been clearly recognized (Fleming, 1984; Sims,1994; Suggs, 1996; Epps, 1991). If we did not have HBCUs in America, then we probably would not have so many African American graduates of higher education. Certainly many of the leaders that emerged during the Civil Rights Movement were products of HBCUs, and many of the students who attended HBCUs were counted among the leaders (and followers) who were actively involved in

the protests and organizational efforts of the movement. Anderson (1978) says that "the training of black leaders to mediate conflicts between Afro-Americans and the dominant society was a major mission of black higher education from the reconstruction era until well into the twentieth century". He also makes the point that "the black educational elite, on balance, encouraged the development of a more radical intelligentsia" (p. 97).

In a study of African American graduates of historically black colleges and universities, Thompson (1986) acknowledges that the definition of leader is broad and it has many interpretations. He describes a leader as "one who initiates, stimulates, coordinates and directs the activities of other (the followers) in the solution of some common problem(s) or the achievement of some particular goal(s)" (p. 143). In the context of his study about African American leaders, Thompson concludes that "historically, leadership has been the ultimate source, the essential catalyst of institutional, racial, ethnic, and national stability and greatness. Therefore, no race, organized group, nation or society can expect to achieve greatness or long maintain a greatness previously achieved without great leadership" (p. 141).

Collectively, HBCUs have educated 70 percent of all African Americans who have earned college degrees in America. The long list of teachers, professors, civil rights activists, writers, business executives, doctors and lawyers that have attended HBCUs includes people like Anna Julia Cooper, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, Ruth Simmons, Randolph Bromery, Martin Luther King, Marian Wright Edelman, Jesse Jackson, Toni Morrison, Anna Julia Cooper and Gloria Wade-Gayles. The list is long and very impressive. About 75 percent of all black Ph.D.s, 80 percent of all African American doctors and 80 percent of federal African American judges are graduates of HBCUs. HBCUs have had particular success with retaining and graduating African American students. In 1990, HBCUs enrolled only 17 percent of the nation's African American students, but they awarded degrees to 27 percent of all African Americans who received

degrees in that year (Academe, 1994; President's Board of Advisors on HBCUs, Annual Report, 1995-96).

Several other studies point to the higher retention and graduation rates for African American students at HBCUs compared to those at PWCUs (Sims, 1994; Suggs, 1996). It is worth noting that while missionaries, philanthropists and the government helped to establish HBCUs, it was African American scholar-activists as teachers and students who helped to create a climate for these institutions. The high expectations, cultural affirmations, and leadership training evident at HBCUs are manifestations of the spirit of transformation that African American teachers bring to the teaching profession. The "supportive environment" at HBCUs can be viewed as one piece of the conclusive evidence that HBCUs are a significant force within higher education and should be valued for their capacity to create an environment for "higher" learning. In a comprehensive national study of African American college students, the results suggested that "black students who attend the historically black public universities reported more favorable relations with professors--enhanced by more support, understanding, and communicated concern--better academic performance, greater social involvement, and higher occupational aspirations than blacks who attended predominantly white institutions. The latter group reported feelings of alienation, sensed hostility, racial discrimination and lack of integration" (Academe, 1994, p. 35).

In a similar study conducted by Baldwin, Duncan and Bell (1992) involving 250 black college students attending a PWCU and a HBCU, the results indicated that a predominantly black college setting is a "healthier" environment for black students because they are nurtured in ways that allow for more positive personality growth and development. The researchers also found a positive correlation between the use of curricula that is specific to the black experience and the development of confidence through an African self-consciousness. They concluded that while integration may have had some positive effects on African Americans, the evidence indicates that the negative

effects on black personalities is problematic. In another study, Epps (1991) concluded that "Black students on Black campuses display more positive psychosocial adjustments, significant academic gains, and greater cultural awareness/commitment than is true for their peer on white campuses" (p. 8).

What is even more remarkable about HBCUs track record for retaining and graduating students is the fact that many of the African American students who attend HBCUs are in need of "compensatory" education (also known as remediation) because the public schools have not adequately prepared them for college. HBCUs have developed a particular expertise and they have created specialized programs that provide students with the information, instruction and motivation that will allow them to succeed in college. Rather than viewing these students as "culturally disadvantaged" or "at-risk", educators see the students as having gifts and talents that can be nurtured through the process of teaching and learning. Wade-Gayles (1993) contends that HBCUs have a "humanistic approach to education" which makes them "so very distinctive and so capable, in spite of small endowments and small libraries, of producing leaders" (p. 125).

The classroom and the larger campus environment at HBCUs have also served as a forum for students to become more politically involved and culturally aware. Leadership and community involvement are stressed as part of the curriculum (Sims, 1994; Willie, Grady & Hope, 1993). DuBois (1968) writes in detail about the leadership opportunities that he was presented with as an editor of the school paper, a fundraiser, a community organizer, a scholar and a teacher. He also credits Fisk University with helping him to get in touch with his spirituality. He stated, "I became aware, once a chance to go to a group of young people of my own race was opened up for me, of the spiritual isolation in which I was living. I heard too in these days for the first time the Negro folk songs. I was thrilled and moved to tears and seemed to recognize something inherently and deeply my own" (p.106).

HBCUs are cited too for their significant involvement in local and international affairs. With funding support from the government, HBCUs have established student and faculty exchange programs in foreign countries, including Africa. These programs focus on agriculture, the environment, community organization and economic development (Suggs, 1996). All of these aspects of HBCUs are clearly identified as strengths and in some cases, such as with retention programs, HBCUs have been viewed as exemplary models within higher education. The future of HBCUs is continually debated but it seems clear that as separate institutions within higher education, HBCUs serve as symbols of African Americans' proud struggle for equality in America, as repositories of African American culture and as beacons of hope for the development of future leaders.

The 104 HBCUs that exist today represent about 3.5 percent of all institutions of higher education in America. As a combined force, they enroll about 300,000 students representing 21 percent of all black students enrolled in college and about 2 percent of all college students (Suggs, 1996). In assessing the past and future for HBCUs, Anderson (1975) says that "they did the best they could with what they had. Yet Black America still awaits deliverance. Black people's conditions, comparatively speaking, have changed little in the last hundred years. So not only must Black colleges survive, but they must redefine their classical utilitarian role in light of these needs, resources, potential and future commitments" (pp. 92-93). Therefore, while celebrating the success of HBCUs, a strategic change, indeed transformation, of the role and function of HBCUs could be instrumental to their survival and advantageous to the field of higher education. If HBCUs are explicitly positioned to lead higher education in the areas of curriculum development and teaching innovations, then we can expect the transformative power of education to permeate institutions and environments for learning at all levels.

Advent of Black Studies Programs

Another legacy of African American teachers as scholar-activists within higher education is the activism and scholarship that has steadily emanated from black studies programs. African Americans have always educated themselves and their children about their heritage and strength through the stories told in churches, families and schools. Slave narratives and books recounting the history of African Americans were also written, songs were sung and sermons were preached. But the significance of black studies was that the field of higher education was deemed as an appropriate place for students, faculty, administrators and community people to make inquiries about the nature of racism and to develop strategies for African American liberation and the eventual fulfillment of democracy. In effect, African American scholar-activists created and struggled to implement "Black Studies" programs to meet African Americans' expectations that higher education was going to be an available and a consummate vehicle for liberation.

The influences of black studies on the field and function of higher education are reported to be widespread and perpetual. Stewart (1991) points out that some of the most significant results have been related to the historical research that has helped us to increase our understanding of the struggles of African Americans including the critical role of a culture that promoted self-help and was permeated by faith. V.P. Franklin and Anderson (1978) trace the traditions of generations of African American scholar-activists who have studied Black educational history to make the point that African Americans pursuit of knowledge about themselves was not only for survival of the race, but indeed for the progress of the nation and the actualization of its ideals. Black studies curricula was designed to be interdisciplinary, and it involved consciousness raising, critical thinking and action. Surely, the rise of women's studies and other ethnic studies programs can be seen as emanating from the black studies movement in higher education.

Commenting on the scholarship and activism associated with black studies programs, Hale (1994) notes that "Africans do not conceive of the world as a place in

which to contemplate life; they see it as an arena for activity" (p. 137). Thus, the African American community has explicitly and formally expected that scholars and teachers would be activists responsible for imparting to others what they have learned and then to be responsible for taking action themselves. Seyaki (1997) emphasizes this point when she says that "the roles and responsibilities of the African-American intellectual have been well laid out over the years. The main responsibility being to maintain a relationship with the larger African-American community for the purpose of uplifting the race" (p. 18).

Marable (1983) notes that black studies also helped to promote alternative teaching methodologies when it brought higher education out into communities. He describes well the innovations and contributions of African American scholar-activists through black studies when he says,

> the demand for Black Studies was a call toward systemic reconstruction of American learning...First Black Studies de-emphasized the 'banking' concept of teaching and advanced mixed methodological techniques such as discussion, informal lectures, debate and community studies. Black studies theoreticians declared that interdisciplinary approaches toward learning were superior to narrow, selective teaching methods which concentrated on one single subject (e.g. history) at the exclusion of other related disciplines (sociology, political theory, political economy). Students were urged to devote some of their research activities towards the transformation and liberation of their own communities. There was a basic relationship between theory and practice in the learning process that was missing from traditional white education. Students were urged to become active participants in their own education. For theoretical and pedagogical reasons, therefore, Black Studies represented a basic and provocative challenge to the raison d'être of white universities (p. 219).

Some of the other influences of black studies on higher education have been more student/faculty cooperation in shaping curriculum; more direct student involvement in creating change on campuses; a greater range of cultural expressions in extracurricular activities; and a continuing debate about the role of higher education in shaping American

ideology and actions. As a result of black studies, we now have a distinct "body of knowledge" and a whole cadre of scholars and activists who can serve as leaders to move us forward.

Ironically, it was at Harvard University that African Americans helped to lead the way for the establishment of Black Studies programs at PWCUs. Richard Benjamin's (1995) descriptive and detailed account of the struggle is revealing. He says,

> Like many black studies programs around the country, Harvard University's department was baptized in the fire of black student protest during the late 1960s. On the evening of April 17, 1969, the Harvard Faculty of Arts & Sciences was scheduled to vote on the 'Cavell motion' named after Philosophy Professor Stanley Cavell. The Cavell motion would establish a black studies program...during the debate, the faculty insisted on two changes to the students' black studies proposal. One amendment would change the courses' descriptions from 'radical and relevant' to 'innovative'. The second amendment would subject the entire black studies program to a full review by the faculty two years later in the 1971-72 academic year (p. 60-62)

According to Benjamin, these agreements did not come easy as there were student marches, bonfires, chanting and rumors that students might seize some campus buildings. Some prominent White professors even stood vigilant over the buildings to prevent their takeover. When President Pusey called for the faculty vote, the Cavell motion was passed and along with it the establishment of a black studies program at Harvard. These same kinds of actions were occurring simultaneously and continuously on numerous college campuses across the country. Students at Howard University also joined the movement for black studies advocating for changes to the curriculum and the faculty. Black studies programs birthed within the field of higher education helped to transform the teaching and learning process.

The opponents of black studies programs questioned the legitimacy of studying the black experience as an academic enterprise. Benjamin (1995) says that "some viewed black studies as an illegitimate and somewhat silly academic endeavor and others saw it on practical levels as a necessary intellectual enterprise in an increasingly diverse society" (p. 62). Educators and others also questioned whether students would be able to obtain employment suggesting that the courses of study would be "worthless in advancing the career of any student". Others considered black studies to be too "politically ideological" and therefore it had no place in higher education (p. 62). At any rate, African American students saw these new studies as relevant to their education and their expectation was that they would be learning new things that would be useful to their own personal development and to the development of the black community as a whole.

I remember when I decided that I was going to major in Afro American studies at Smith College. It was not even a burning question or a hard decision for me--it really was a given that I would pursue this course of study to gain more knowledge, understanding and wisdom. In my mind and my heart it was essential that I know more about the condition of African American people and the nature of racism. I made up my mind pretty quickly and I signed up immediately. Actually, I was considering a major in psychology because I wanted to understand how people could invent such a thing as racism. Psychology also seemed to be a popular field at the time. But I decided that psychology might not be the right lens for me to view the question of racism from when I attended a class with a white male professor who gave a lecture on child development including irrefutable "proof" that Blacks were inferior to Whites. I marched right over to the Registrar's Office, dropped the course and never took another psychology course at the undergraduate level. The course of study that I pursued at Smith College was purposefully designed as a double major in Afro-American Studies and Economics. I decided to study economics because it was something that I knew very little about. Living among an elite group of women at Smith College, I was interested in finding out more about the stock

market, how businesses worked and how money got distributed. My thinking was that, if I was equipped with this kind of knowledge, I could pursue a career that was near the "pulse" of the American system. I knew that drastic change was needed and I wanted to "go for the jugular". My favorite slogan then (and now) is that the color is not black or white--but green. Money must be the answer!

Black studies programs were developed and shaped in many different ways within higher education because the level of resources and the placement of black studies in the organizational structure varied greatly. Research shows that the highest number of programs ever in operation at one time has been about 300 in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Stewart, 1991, p. 162). There are now about 215 black studies initiatives on college campuses and universities in America that in 1994-95 granted 75 Bachelor's degrees, 22 Master's degrees and eight Ph.D.s. The structure for 140 of the black studies initiatives within higher education is that of an "academic program". There are 59 black studies "departments"; four "institutes" and 12 "centers". The distinctions between the structures for the initiatives revolve around the amount of funding provided, the number and status of full-time faculty that are assigned to teach black studies and the number of students who choose to major and take courses in this field. The fact that there is a diversity of program structures and functions is seen as a positive force although some people concede that programs classified as "academic departments" seem to be most successful in maintaining their power (Shipp 1995, p. 52).

My own black studies "program" gave me the license and tools needed to discover my heritage and to learn about strategies for constructive social change. Because there were only about two full-time African American professors employed at Smith College, I was exposed to many visiting scholars and activists who were just beginning their careers in higher education and/or who were actively involved in African Americans' struggle for liberation. Manning Marable, who has published widely and who leads the African American Institute at Columbia University, was my academic advisor for black studies. He

supervised my field work projects in Springfield and he guided me through to completion of my competency examination. Maya Angelou, Nikki Giovanni and Sonia Sanchez were frequent visitors to the campus and they often gathered with "the sisters" in our "cultural center" and shared words of wisdom and inspiration. When I took a course entitled, "Public Schools in the Black Community", Rhody McCoy, one of the activist involved with the Ocean-Hill Brownsville Experiment in New York, taught the course and shared stories about his day to day struggle to change the educational delivery system for African Americans by involving the voices and concerns of parents and the community in the decision making process.

I was excited about the times and after studying the status of public school education in America I reconsidered the idea of joining the teaching profession believing that maybe education--and not economics--might be the "pulse" of the system and a weapon against racism. Economic development always remained upper most in my mind as a solution to African Americans' dilemma, but education was next to Godliness. When Amherst College held a symposium on Black Capitalism in 1973, Jesse Jackson visited the college and I went to his lecture. The room was packed. He talked to us as if we had a responsibility to apply what we were learning and to give our energy to the cause of liberating African Americans. I remember being struck by an analogy that he made between African Americans and Whites being in the same car that was going over a cliff. He said that the problem was that Whites were driving and African Americans were locked in the trunk, but we were all going over the cliff together. It was then that it dawned on me that African Americans' liberation was not just to benefit African Americans, but the entire nation! As I learned more about African Americans' historic struggle through my studies, I was fascinated by the strong determination and courage that people demonstrated over time and through many trials and tribulations. I was also saddened by the continuous torment and persecution that African Americans have had to face over such a long period of time. My thinking was (and is) that if people studied the

experiences of African Americans to deconstruct race, then solutions to the problems of American democracy are imminent.

In the Field and Function of Black Studies, Stewart (1991) gives an overview of the role of black studies programs in educating people for leadership and social change. He summarizes the varied functions and goals of black studies programs as:

> * helping people to look backward so they can understand the present
>
> * institutionalizing black studies within higher education so it will be a self perpetuating enterprise that maintains ties to the black community
>
> * contributing to efforts to shape public policies that insure black progress into and during the 21st century (p. 160)

Ballard (1973) makes the point that black studies programs incorporate any and all of three general categories of missions. He explains that the function and goals of black studies programs are to research history and illuminate the contribution of Blacks; to serve as an instrument of cultural nationalism; and to serve as a vehicle for social change with a functional relationship to the black community (p. 115). Significantly, black studies programs arose from African Americans' experience in predominantly white colleges and universities and not at HBCUs. Ballard explains that "the thrust for a 'relevant' Black education came, therefore, from students on predominantly white campuses, since it was precisely there that the contradictions between white and Black America were most intense" (p. 104-105).

In the 1980s there was a general decrease in overall support for Black studies programs as measured by financial resources and faculty appointments. The decreased support is generally attributable to the climate created during the Reagan presidency and the financial crises that many institutions of higher education faced. Declining enrollment

in black studies programs is also believed to be reflective of the differences between African Americans attending college in the decades of the sixties and seventies and those who have attended in the eighties and nineties. African American students attending college today are sometimes characterized as apathetic students who are more focused on their individual careers. However, many students are still activists in the tradition of African American scholar-activists. Once again African Americans students who attended Harvard University in the 1990s have been among the ones to lead a resurgence for black studies programs. Benjamin (1995) reports that in the 1990-91 school year, twenty-five students took over a college building to protest what they called "the neglect and scorn" of the blacks studies program. The result was that Gates was appointed as its director in 1991. Benjamin says that Harvard's black studies program has been regarded as a success story because the program is rated "superlative" as measured by the cooperation between departments at Harvard, the scholarly reputation of the faculty, the size of the $2.25 unrestricted endowment, the place and size of its physical space and the research projects that it attracts (p. 9, p. 65).

The black studies program at Temple University, founded in 1971, is considered to be one of the largest initiatives with four institutes, four journals, 15 faculty, 97 graduate students, 45 undergraduate majors and an average of 1,000 students enrolling in courses each semester. The program also has a connection with the community through public schools, GED programs, and the production of textbooks. Marable, the Director of Columbia University's Institute for Research in African American Studies, sees Columbia's institute as a "structure that advocates policy and fights for power" (Shipp, 1995, p. 52). Gates wants the black studies program at Harvard to be "a place where research occurs but also speaks of activism and advocacy including linking with Congress, the White House and the Black Caucus to influence policy making" (Shipp, 1995, p. 52).

The choices that students face today about which college they should attend are numerous and varied. Many students seem to be focused on their particular professions

believing that as individuals they can achieve their dreams beyond the limitations placed on African Americans as a group. Other African American students do not want to get involved in confrontation and change efforts because they do not want to jeopardize their future livelihoods. And still others are confused by the politics of race or do not wish to draw attention to their undeniable blackness. Therefore, despite the successes of black studies programs, low enrollment for some courses has become a reality (Shipp, 1995). Yet, black studies programs in the 21st century can serve as forums for scholarly pursuits and incubators for committed activism. Marable (1992) concludes that "Black studies must project itself not just as an interpretation of reality, but as a projection of what should be and must become" (p. 35).

Development of Holistic Pedagogy

As revealed in the numerous studies cited in this research report and other studies, African Americans' approach to teaching has involved connecting the spirits, minds and bodies of students engaged in the learning process. African Americans' distinct teaching style and high expectations for learning have clearly been shaped by generations of scholar-activists who have used education as a tool for liberation. By employing holistic teaching strategies African Americans have been able to stimulate change and develop the potential of people individually and collectively. Hale (1994) explains that to encompass the whole person, African Americans expose people to a wide range of stimulation including the use of proverbs, folk tales, movement and song to transmit culture and to promote learning. She says that "African Americans transform every cultural mode--language, music, religion, art, dance, problem-solving, sports, writing--with a kind of 'soulfulness'" (p. 202). As documented by Hale, Boykin (1983) identifies nine interrelated dimensions of African American culture that have contributed to different styles of teaching and learning (p. 202). She lists Boykin's dimensions as:

1. *Spirituality*: an essentially vitalistic, rather than mechanistic, approach to life which carries the conviction that non-material forces influence people's everyday lives.

2. *Harmony*: the notion that one's fate is interrelated with other elements in the scheme of things, so that humankind and nature are harmonically conjoined.

3. *Movement*: an emphasis on the interweaving of movement, rhythm, percussion, music, and dance, which are believed to be central to psychological health.

4. *Verve*: a propensity for relatively high levels of stimulation and for action that is energetic and lively.

5. *Affect*: an emphasis on emotions and feelings, together with a special sensitivity to emotional cues and a tendency to be emotionally expressive.

6. *Communalism*: a commitment to social connectedness, which includes an awareness that social bonds and responsibilities transcend individual privileges.

7. *Expressive individualism*: the cultivation of a distinctive personality and a proclivity for spontaneous, genuine, personal expression.

8. *Oral tradition*: a preference for oral/aural modes of communication, in which both speaking and listening are treated as performances and in which oral virtuosity-the ability to use alliterative, metaphorical, and graphic forms of spoken language-is emphasized and cultivated.

9. *Social time perspective*: an orientation in which time is treated as passing through a social space rather than a material one, in which time can be recurring, personal, and phenomenological.

Hale contends that because of these varied cultural factors in the teaching and learning process, traditional integrated school settings can become "boring" places for African American students. The traditional view of formal education and academics as a "banking" function (the teacher deposits knowledge in the students) rather than as a liberating force has led to reported "failures" among African American children. She also makes the point that most schools, such as private academies and Ivy League colleges, which are operated to train leaders do not depend so much on "skill and drill" as practiced in inner city schools. She says that students in elite schools are expected to think creatively, work

interdependently, solve problems and have vision. Schools should be learning environments where talents and aspirations are nurtured and transformation occurs.

A significant aspect of teaching to transform is the internal dimension. Palmer (1998) explains that "in classical understanding, education is the attempt to 'lead out' from within the self a core of wisdom that has the power to resist falsehood and live in the light of truth, not by external norms but by reasoned and reflective self-determination. The inward teacher is the living core of our lives that is addressed and evoked by any education worthy of the name" (p. 31). Palmer urges us to consider the need for holistic teaching and learning that can only come from being in touch with spirit. He says that teachers especially need to be in touch with their own "inner teacher" in order to help students to "befriend the deeper self" (p. 32). hooks (1994) reminds us that in segregated schools, African American teachers were skilled at helping students to befriend their deeper selves. She says that teaching to transgress was really a way for African American teachers to connect education with liberation. In this sense, African American teachers have been able to develop a holistic pedagogy with the power to transform.

The particular design and delivery of educational programs exclusively for African Americans have yielded some impressive results in terms of leadership development and education for transformation. Hale (1994) suggests that "if it is plausible that there is an African American preaching style, then it is equally plausible that there could be an African American teaching style, which would connect with the culture of African American children, inspire them, motivate them, and capture their imagination" (p. 204). Ladson-Billings (1994) also contends that "culturally relevant" teaching and learning processes are needed to help African Americans succeed in academic settings. She says that effective teaching is based on the attitudes and resources of the teacher rather than on the condition of the students or the dictates of the school. In this sense, teachers can be educated to successfully develop the human potential of all students.

Foster (1997) quotes an African American teacher, named Joelle Vanerall, who states that "teaching urban children effectively requires more than good teaching techniques. It requires the ability to solve problems; it requires commitment, psychological strength, and determination. It requires the ability to interact and talk with children, so that you can get across the idea that you are interested in their success and that you are not going to accept anything less than their absolute best in your classroom" (p. 149). hooks (1994) tells us that "ideally, education should be a place where the need for diverse teaching methods and styles would be valued, encouraged, seen as essential to learning" (p. 203). African American teachers have been able to view each student holistically and through a positive lens within the context of developing students' potential to make progress. Teacher education and pedagogical practices based on some of the holistic teaching methodologies of African Americans can be useful for not just African Americans students, but others as well. Foster (1997) laments the paucity of scholarship about African American teachers. She says "given the significance of teaching as a profession within the black community and the growing scholarship examining occupations that have typically employed large numbers of blacks, the absence of a book devoted to black teachers is both puzzling and disturbing" (p. xix). Discovering more about the essence of African American teachers, their styles and accomplishments is essential to progress. The legacy of African American teachers clearly deserves greater recognition and further study.

Search for Truth

Nikki Giovanni recites a poem that says "one ounce of truth benefits like ripples on a pond". In a world where the deep roots of racism allowed ideologies and scholarship about African Americans' inferiority to grow, African American teachers as scholar-activists bravely helped to transform the structural nature of our society and the souls of many folks through publications and organizations created to promote and to sustain

scholarship that represented the truth about racism. According to V.P. Franklin and Anderson (1978), generations of scholars sought after the truth by organizing themselves, conducting research, writing papers, delivering speeches and publishing groundbreaking research findings. The primary goal of these efforts was to provide scholarly evidence of African Americans' inherent humanity so that the truth could be known by all. Teaching, research and oratory were among the most potent weapons used to fight racism.

Palmer (1983) makes a connection between teaching and truth, and he points to the need for scholarly community when he says, "to teach is to create a space in which the community of truth is practiced" (xxii). Palmer describes a "community of truth" as "a rich and complex network of relationships in which we must both speak and listen, make claims on others, and make ourselves accountable. This new image makes it easier to explore with others the pain of disconnection, and to seek remedies consistent with the nature of education at its best" (p. xii). The truth that Palmer speaks of is not akin to "facts", "theory" or "objectivity". He contends that "to know truth is to allow one's self to be known as well, to be vulnerable to the challenges and changes any true relationship brings. To know truth is to enter into the life of that which we know and to allow it to enter into ours" (p. 31). Palmer's conception of truth demands that racism be exposed and dissected. People do not know the truth if they believe that people with white skin are superior to others. African American scholar-activists have searched for the truth about race believing that the "truth will set us free"!

While the scholarly life can be viewed as one of solitude, African American scholars purposefully sought to join forces with others interested in studying African American life, American democracy and racism. Most of what we know about Anna Julia Cooper is known through her writings and speeches and the impressions that she left on the lives that she touched by being a scholar-activist. Lemert and Bhan (1998) claim that "through much of her active life, Cooper was a popular public speaker" and that while she traveled around the country and the world to promote the truth, "the force of her social

activism was local" to the Washington, D.C. area (pp. 6, 7). Indeed, when speaking about her scholarship and activism, Cooper mentions her associations with many well-known scholars, including both Crummell and DuBois. Moses (1989) reports that "the black writers and thinkers of Washington moved constantly in and out of literary and intellectual clubs, with kaleidoscopically changing memberships and names" (p. 260). In 1877, an organization called The Negro American Society was founded in Crummell's home to produce research studies and to promote knowledge about African Americans. The association was short-lived, but is an example of the many organizations that were founded to bring African American scholar-activists together for the purpose of using scholarship as a catalyst for social change.

One of the most notable organizations formed was the American Negro Academy (ANA), founded in 1897. DuBois was a young scholar at the time and Crummell served as the convenor for the organization. During the ANA's early years, Crummell cited DuBois for publishing and delivering a paper called "Conservation of Race" under the auspices of the academy. In a speech to some of the members of the organization, Crummell spelled out the distinct purpose of this organization which was founded to develop and promote scholarship for social change. He said,

> There have been Religious Assemblies, Political Conferences, suffrage meetings, educational conventions. But *our* meeting is for a purpose which, while inclusive, in some respects, of these various concerns, is for an object more distinct and positive than any of them. What then, it may be asked, is the special undertaking we have before us, in this academy? My answer is civilization of the Negro race in the United States, by the scientific processes of literature, art and philosophy, through the agency of the cultured men of this same Negro race. And here, let me say, that the special race problem of the Negro in the United States is his civilization (p. 285).

Crummell also contended that "the scholar is exceptional", and he connected scholarship to leadership when he asserted that "the leader, the creative and organizing mind, is the

master-need in all the societies of man" (p. 287). Apart from the ivory tower, the scholars involved with the academy clearly saw themselves as activists with a responsibility to the larger African American community. Wright (1997) says that "the intellectuals of the American Negro Academy were seeking to foster a kind of organic relationship between Black intellectuals and Black people" (p. 15). Moss (1981) credits the ANA with being the precursor for other scholarly organizations. He explains that "by functioning as a source of affirmation and encouragement for an important segment of the black intelligentsia and as a setting in which they could seek to understand the meaning of the black American experience, it was a model for other and sometimes more successful black organizations founded after 1897 which engaged in similar work or attempted to realize goals that the ANA had found unattainable" (p. 3). The American Negro Academy survived for thirty one years.

In 1915, Carter G. Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. The purpose of the organization was to collect data, study African American people and publish books so that scholars could "promote harmony between the races". This organization launched the Journal of Negro History and Woodson pioneered Black History Week. According to V.P. Franklin and Anderson (1978), "Woodson placed great faith in the ameliorative or liberating aspects of 'historical truth'" (p. 3). Scholar-activists conducted research and published studies to inform decisions and stimulate change. Many individual scholar-activists influenced the design and methods of research. DuBois' study of The Philadelphia Negro (1899) and his study of Black Reconstruction in America (1935) were considered breakthroughs at that time because of the breadth and depth of the information that was collected and analyzed. DuBois' methods contributed greatly to the field of sociology. Lewis (1993) reports that DuBois helped to move sociological study away from scientific explanations involved with chemistry and genetics to a recognition of the "rhythms and tendencies; coincidences and probabilities" (p. 203). Horace Bond Mann's (1934) study of African Americans and education was a seminal

work that presented a detailed financial analysis of school funding through which he "proved" that African Americans were receiving unequal resources and were being relegated to the margins of society. Several other distinct studies published during this time reinforced the argument that African Americans were the recipients of unequal treatment.

The Harlem Renaissance in the early 1900s yielded numerous literary and artistic works by African American scholars. Then during the 1940s and 50s, scholars focused on analyses of economic systems, including labor issues and political movements and they completed extensive reviews of the injustices perpetuated by the justice system. Scholars also moved more into studies about the psychological and educational aspects of racism. V.P. Franklin and Anderson (1978) point out that "whereas during the 1930s American Marxists and others placed great emphasis on the role of the capitalist economy in the perpetuation of racism and discrimination against Afro-Americans, social scientists and minority group leaders in the 1940s and 1950s stressed 'ignorance and intolerance' as the major reasons for majority-minority group tensions" (p. 7). Rayford Logan's study of "The Nadir" contributed to a tradition of advocacy for African Americans civil rights. Thus, scholars sought to educate people about the dilemmas and aspirations of African Americans and to make "truth claims" about the construction of race.

During the 1960s and 1970s, black studies programs provided a forum for scholars of all ages to gather, analyze and promote information about African Americans and the nature of their struggle against racism. The National Council for Black Studies (NCBS) was founded in this period for the purpose of promoting "holistic approaches to studying the experience and history of people of African descent" (Shipp, 1995, p. 51). According to Stewart (1991), NCBS' activities include issuing position statements about structural and financial support for black studies programs, accrediting programs, promoting quality, insuring a coherent curriculum and conducting annual surveys to assess the state of black studies. Boynton (1995) says that "with the creation of black studies came institutional

power, as black intellectuals were able to allocate funds, recruit faculty, and establish curriculum" (p. 65).

Scholarly organizations were also formed during this time to bring scholars together for the purpose of sharing information and developing political agendas to combat racism. The Institute of the Black World (IBW) and the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies were two organizations that encouraged scholarship and collective action. The IBW, founded in 1969, sponsored summer research symposiums designed to provide "on-site teacher training and preparation for groups actively concerned with black education" (IBW Pamphlet). The institute also worked on a "Black Agenda for the Seventies" and presented lectures and published articles and newsletters that promoted scholarship about race issues. A significant aspect of the IBW's work was the organization's connections to not only scholars, but also to churches, prisoners, study groups, youth groups and others. Many of the members of the IBW were also politically active, and they viewed themselves as scholars carrying on the legacy of DuBois and others who advocated for truth and justice for all (Harvard Educational Review, 1974).

The Black Scholar, the Journal of Black Studies and Research, the Black World, and Encore magazine also served as forums for African American scholars' works when other publications disregarded or distorted scholarship produced and promoted by African Americans. More recently, the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education and Black Issues in Higher Education have focused specifically on scholarship related to African Americans within higher education. hooks has published an impressive number of books in a short time. Gates has purposefully constructed a community of noted scholars at Harvard University to develop and promote scholarship related to African American studies, and there are a number of other organizations that are devoted to bringing scholars together, including the African American Women's Institute at Howard University. The range of all of these organizations is too extensive to list here, but the power and contributions of communities of African American scholars seeking after and promoting the truth are clear.

Within the African American community, there is a pronounced expectation that scholars will be leaders who will agitate for social change. A number of studies have described and drawn some conclusions about the efficacy of African American intellectuals and their influence on African American communities and the larger society. In Black Intellectuals, Banks (1996) traces the history and evaluates the role of African American intellectuals in the larger development of African American communities and American society. He defines an intellectual as someone who is "reflective and critical, who acts self-consciously to transmit, modify, and create ideas and culture" (p. xvi). Banks concludes that "intellectuals are both bulwarks of the established order and the instigators of change." He also suggests that "Black intellectuals who do not project an autonomous ethnic vision in their work are sidestepping an important responsibility" (p. 222-233).

Several scholars suggest that the full potential of African American scholars to generate social change has yet to be fully realized. Cruse (1969) is particularly critical of what he considers to be the "failure" of African American intellectuals, and he notes that "it was historically unfortunate that the American Negro created no social theorists to back up his long line of activist leaders, charismatic deliverers, black redemptionists, and moral suasionists" (p. 565). Frazier (1973) suggests that "the educated Negro or Negro intellectuals have failed to achieve any intellectual freedom" (p. 59). Both Frazier and Cruse contend that African American scholars need to be developed into a collective leadership with the courage to take a stand for the masses of African Americans. Boynton (1995) says that "although black intellectuals have received an enormous amount of attention in the media, the academy, and beyond, it remains to be seen whether they will have an enduring impact on American culture at large" (p. 68).

Wright (1997) says that "the burden of Black intellectuals has increased. America itself is in a state of intellectual, moral and spiritual crises" (p. x). He hopes to "stimulate Black intellectuals into action" so that collectively we will be able to know and promote the truth about race and racism (p.xiii). West and hooks (1991) contend that "the richness,

diversity, and vitality of the traditions of Black preaching and Black music stand in strong paucity, even poverty, of Black literate intellectual production" (p. 136). Despite the shortcomings of and challenges for African American scholars, Sekayi (1997) concluded that African American intellectuals have been "successful primarily because they made a commitment to the present and future of African and African-American people and more importantly, they are seeing that commitment through" (p. 118). The personal lives of the scholar-activists that I studied confirm Sekayi's view that African American scholar-activists have the capacity to transform people, places and circumstances.

There is a spiritual principle that African Americans often refer to as a way of reminding us that there is cause and effect, action and reaction. The saying is, "you will reap what you sow". hooks (1989) suggests that African American scholars planted seeds of truth because they "were deeply committed to transforming society" (p. 64). A view of the lived experiences of African American scholar-activists can offer us further insights into how and why some of the significant teaching and research practices and philosophies of African American scholar-activists have varied from the practices and philosophies of other groups of people. Lived experiences can also shine a light on the kinds of seeds that must be sown to reap a new harvest of scholar-activists who can teach to transform.

CHAPTER 3

REAPING WHAT WE SOW: LIVED EXPERIENCES

The Strength of African American Family and Community

Life is lived in the context of family and community. For most people, the spiritual principle, "you will reap what you sow", is most apparent on a daily level in the growth and maturity of children. As people rear children, or sow seeds into their lives by teaching virtues and instilling values, they hope that a "good" harvest is forthcoming in the form of a well-developed adult. The unfortunate fact surrounding this spiritual principle is that sometimes the most exemplary efforts of parents, teachers and others can be thwarted by the influence of others who exert more control over their offspring than they and, as a result, sow different seeds (virtues and value systems) into the lives of their young ones. When a child is born with a darker skin color he or she is faced with identity development through a different process involving different experiences and values than other children. Black children in America naturally learn about and contend with racism in the environment--it is a disease that they will have to face all of their lives. Studies reveal that by the time children are 2 to 3 years old, they are aware of racial differences and by the time they are 3 to 4 years old, they have placed a value on these differences (Burlew, Banks, McAdoo, & Azibo,1992).

Thus race, as a biological, social, political and economic construct, profoundly affects the development of human beings. Salkind (1985) says that "human development is the result of a complex interaction between biological and environmental influences" (p. 19). Just as our genetic make-up determines our eye color, our hair color, etc., the color of our skin is also biologically determined. Coincidentally, race is determined by the environment because racial designations based on skin color are assigned to us according

to the social, political, cultural and economic environment that we are born into. For African Americans, the interaction between these two domains--being born with a darker skin color into an environment that devalues your race--produces human development experiences that are radically different from other racial groups. These differences are often manifested in individual personalities of African Americans and in the cultural "personality" of African Americans as a people.

White (1984) gives meaning to this phenomenon when he says "there is a distinctive, coherent, persistent Afro-American psychological perspective, frame of reference, world view, or cultural ethos that is evident in the behavior, attitudes, feelings, life styles, and expressive patterns of Black Americans" (p. 2). Black children learn from the larger environment that they are inferior to people who are born with and labeled as having white skin. They learn that their opportunities may be limited and that they will have to struggle "twice as hard" to obtain the same rights (and perhaps never the privileges) that White people are afforded because of their skin color. From their families and communities, African American children learn that they have inner resources and the strength of God to defend against attacks on their humanity. They learn that they have a responsibility not only to themselves but to their race, their country and humanity. Maneuvering between these conceptions of what it means to be an African American can be heartwrenching and requires a lot of faith and skill. Edelman (1992) points out the unrelenting day-to-day struggle that Black people must face because of the color of their skin when she says that "it is utterly exhausting being Black in America--physically, mentally, and emotionally" (p. 23).

In opposition to prevalent ideologies involving "rugged individualism" and materialism, African Americans develop their personalities based on ideologies that promote a sense of collectiveness and spirituality. As a result African Americans have developed a particular dependence on family and on the spiritual dimension of life as survival mechanisms for the development of a healthy ego. The extended family,

interdependent relationships, mutual aid and sharing are especially characteristic among African Americans. White describes these defense mechanisms when he says, "this collectively shared psychological space served as a protective screen that prevented the slaves from internalizing the oppressor's view of White superiority and Black inferiority" (p. 7). Hopson and Hopson (1998) say that "for African Americans, soul defines us as a people--as much as or perhaps more than skin color, culture, and history. Soul combines color, culture, history, and our essence. It contains expression, resiliency, hopes, energy, conscience, dreams, and desires" (p. 5).

The African American struggle has not been easy for individuals or communities. Families have been torn apart and many people have died prematurely because of tobacco, alcohol, violence, crime, dilapidated housing and environmental wastes that have devastated once strong African American communities. Yet, the collective force of African Americans' ability to survive cannot be denied. The African American experience is a human experience that offers us some unique lessons about human development and human resilience. As Hopson and Hopson (1998) describe it, reverence for "soul" has been essential to survival. Writing about the strengths of African American families, R. Hill (1997) identifies five cultural attributes: high achievement orientation, strong work ethic, flexible family roles, kinship bonds and strong religious orientation. He points out that these attributes are also shared by many other groups, but African American families have emphasized particular attributes because of their experiences with slavery and racial oppression.

The shared cultural values and perspectives, or "cultural personality", that has evolved through the African experience in America is evident in the lives of the scholar-activists involved with this study. Crummell (1992) eloquently describes the process of this resilient "cultural personality" and connects it with the principle of reaping and sowing when he says, "there are certain plants which carry latent in their folds, special virtues, odors, medicinal qualities, electric power, which to ordinary sight are unrecognized and

unknown; but step upon them, crush them with the slightest tread, and immediately all their latent qualities spring to the surface, and marvelous powers startle the touch, or exhalations fill the air!" (p. 57). Helping children to sort through questions of identity so that their latent power could spring forth was a major focus for the adults and institutions in African American communities.

Extended Family Relationships

Education and affirmation were carried out in the context of extended family, community, schools, and churches. The elder members of families played a central and important role in many children's lives. The scholar-activists who were a part of this study all point to the strength of family and community as a counter force to the racism that has been imposed on African Americans through the environment. Crummell was a staunch advocate for African Americans' self-determination, and he was clearly influenced by his father and his father's friends who labored to establish schools in his community. Crummell (1992) reveals how he learned about his father's life in Africa and the influence that his father's stories had on his life's goals when he writes, "his burning love of home, his vivid remembrance of scenes and travels with his father into the interior, and his wide acquaintance with divers tribes and customs, constantly turned his thoughts backward to his native land. And thus, by listening to his tales of African life, I became deeply interested in the land of our fathers; and early in my life resolved, at some future, day to go to Africa" (p. 61).

Cooper (1998) claimed that "a race is but a total of families" (p. 63). Throughout her life she extolled the virtues of womanhood and the importance of community support. As an advocate for the education of women, whom she viewed as playing a central role in the home, Cooper said, "a race cannot be purified from without. Preachers and teachers are helps, and stimulants and conditions as necessary as the gracious rain and sunshine are to plant growth. But what are rain and dew and sunshine and cloud if there be no life in

the plant germ? We must go to the root and see that is sound and healthy and vigorous; and not deceive ourselves with waxen flowers and painted leaves of mock chlorophyll" (p. 62). She explains her views about the prominent role of women in society by saying "a stream cannot rise higher than its source. The atmosphere of homes is no rarer and purer and sweeter than are the mothers in those homes" (p. 63).

Gates (1994) fondly describes the strength and compassion that he saw in his own mother when he says, "she made the ignorant and ugly sound like scholars and movie stars, turned the mean and evil into saints and angels. She knew what people had meant to be in their hearts, not what the world had forced them to become" (p. 31). Gates recalls that his mother left secondary school so she could support her family and help her four brothers to go to college. He says, "as a child, I was secure in her knowledge of things, of how to *do* things and function in the world, of how to *be* in the world and command respect" (p. 34). He reveals that his impression of his mother was that she did not fear white people, but there were times that he could see that she did harbor feelings of hate for them. "Her attitude was that she and Daddy would provide the best for us, so that no white person could put us down or keep us out for reasons of appearance, color aside" (p.35).

Wade-Gayles (1993) also pays tribute to her mother and other African American women who touched her life. She says,

> what I remember most vividly from my youth is my respect for women, especially my elders. To me, they were powerful beings, forces that belonged, I thought, to another world, but chose to live in this one because we needed them. As blacks, we struggled for personhood and freedom in the physical world, but that was not the only world in which we lived. Women guided us to the other world, the spiritual world, where neither race nor gender was of consequence, and there they nurtured us and made us whole. We called the women wise; they were, in fact, spiritual. My mother was one of those women (p. 248).

Terrell Hill said, "my mother is a strong Black woman. She's always been there for me, encouraging me along the way. She taught me about responsibility. I can go to her for anything" (personal communication, October 17, 1997). hooks (1996) says of her mother, "it is with her that I feel loved and sometimes accepted. She is the one person who looks into my heart, sees its needs and tries to satisfy them" (p. 139).

African American men also played prominent roles in shaping children's lives. Gates and Wade-Gayles both speak fondly of the lessons that they learned from their fathers and uncles. The lessons were not always taught by the words that they spoke. Many times the actions of the men spoke for them as they struggled to take care of their families and protect their humanity. hooks (1996) writes about her grandfather in wistful terms.

> He tells me Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted. I am comforted by his presence. Soot-black-skinned man with lines etched deep in his face as if someone took a knife and carved them there. He is Daddy Gus, mama's father. From her I know that he has always been gentle, that he has never been a man of harsh words. I need his presence in my life to learn that all men are not terrible, are not to be feared. He, too, is one of the faithful, one of the right-hand men of god. When he speaks I listen very carefully to hear what is said. His voice comes from some secret place of knowing, a hidden cave where healers go to hear messages from the beloved (p. 86).

Bromery speaks proudly of his father's ability to take care of his family when he was growing up in Maryland during the 1930s and 1940s. He explains that his father worked as a head waiter, a chauffeur and a janitor at the local library. Bromery poignantly describes the impact that his father had on his life as he watched his father find ways of dealing with the subservient roles that were ascribed to African Americans when he was growing up in the South. The story that Bromery tells is insightful because it offers us a glimpse into the factors that can motivate someone to adopt particular stances and to

behave in particular ways in response to racism. His story also highlights the influence that family interactions and parental actions can have on the determination and aspirations of young people. Bromery's telling of the story is rich and heartfelt. He says,

> My father was a head waiter at the hotel. When the dining room closed, my father had no other skills so he took a job as a chauffeur for a banker. He also worked at an apartment building to keep the fire going and as a janitor at the public library. I will go to my grave never forgetting what this country did to my father. The librarian was a very sweet, gentle lady but she was as racist as anyone else. My father was like a boy to her and the way she talked to him--the thing that I said I will take to my grave--is that when I was about eleven years old, I'd go to the library to help my father sometimes. I remember listening to Ms. Mary W. talk to my father like he was a child and watching the way he reacted with his hat in his hand, head bowed. But then the worse was when I remember that there was a woman who had a little boy and a little girl--the little girl had to be about 6 years old. And when we approached each other, my father would stop and take his hat off and look down at the ground and do a little shuffle with his feet for Ms. Jean and Mr. John--it was a little movement of his feet--I don't know how to describe it. And then he'd laugh, but there was nothing funny-it was a nervous laugh-it's a black laugh because I've heard it when I travel the South--Black people have that laugh--That really unnerved me. I went through a period as a boy when I hated my father for that and what I never wanted to be was like my father. As I grew older and more mature, I began to realize what he had to sacrifice for us and will never forgive this country for what it made African American men do to protect and feed their families (personal communication, April 14, 1999).

As Bromery told me this story, he got up and proudly showed me pictures of his parents. He later explained that he believed that Ms. Mary W. was unknowingly racist and that he is convinced that most racists in this country do not know that they are racist. He said " I truly believe that I can cope with the racist who knows that they are racist better than those who are unknowingly racist". Bromery stated that his dad lived until he was 75 years old, and he often brought his father up to the University of Massachusetts so they

could be together and his father could see what Bromery had achieved in life. Bromery said, "everything I struggled with in my life, I did it because of him. I think if I had to say what was my strongest influence, the thing that motivated me the most was that I wanted to get to a position where I wouldn't have to tolerate white people feeling sorry for me. White people could never understand what it is to be Black".

Crummell's (1992) description of the father of one of his friends offers us some understanding of the reverence that children had for the elders in the community and the way that they served as role models. Recalling his childhood impressions growing up in New York, Crummell writes,

> I remember his father well. A grander, nobler, more stately man, both in stature and character than George Garnet, I have rarely met. He was as tall as his more celebrated son; a perfect Apollo, in form and figure; with beautifully moulded limbs and fine and delicate features; just like hundreds of the grand Mandingoes I have seen in Africa; whose blood he carried in his veins. Unlike his son, he was grave and sober in his demeanor, but solid and weighty in his words; not given to talk, and reminding one of the higher Quaker character; deeply religious; and carrying in his every movement strength and dignity. I remember well the self-restraint his appearance always evoked among my playmates, and a certain sense of awe which his majestic presence always impressed us with (p. 55).

Men like this seemed to serve as role models for Crummell and others as such as DuBois and Bromery. Crummell has actually been described by others as dignified and distinguished--even rigid (Moses, 1989; Rigsby; 1987). DuBois (1903) specifically wrote about Crummell and described him as standing "with simple dignity and an unmistakable air of good breeding" (p. 133). DuBois has been spoken of in these terms by Bromery and others, and Bromery, in turn, has been described by myself and others as someone with dignity too. Generations of people sow seeds to teach us about the ways of thinking, doing and being. The harvest is evident in the lessons passed on through life experiences.

Terrell Hill (personal communication, October 17, 1997) reveals that, from his father, he learned lessons about how to be discerning. He says, "Well, I enjoyed visits with my father. I think what I learned from him is how to assess situations. My father could size up a situation and tell you a lot of things about it. He was good at sizing up people too. That's what I think I learned from him". Wade-Gayles (1993) says of her father that "he was 'Daddy'. In the fairy-tale sense of the word. A kind and gentle man who loved us more than anyone else on the face of the earth. Who took us to fun places and bought us almost everything we wanted. Who was never tired. Never impatient. And never angry. Who always smiled love" (p.58). Growing up in New England, I regarded my own father as a strong provider who loved his children unconditionally. I bemoaned the fact that he had to work so hard and so long. A part of my motivation for excelling in school was to give him and my mother one less thing to worry about.

hooks (1996) describes what was expected of her growing up as an African American woman in the South. She says, "in the traditional southern-based black life, it was and is expected of girls to be articulate, to hold ourselves with dignity. Our parents and teachers were always urging us to stand up right and speak clearly. These traits were meant to uplift the race" (p. xiii). She recalls developing her own sense of racial distinctions by "demanding" that her parents give her a brown doll to play with rather than a white one. She says "deep within myself I had begun to worry that all of this loving care we gave to the pink and white flesh-colored dolls meant that somewhere left high on the shelves were boxes of unwanted, unloved brown dolls covered in dust" (p. 24). hooks' life was surrounded by extended family and influenced by the many people that she came into contact with in the segregated community where she grew up. hooks (1996) writes that, "family is more important than friends. We are used to family. We have grown up in family" (p. 37). In reference to her great grandmother, she describes her by saying "we know she is old because she is our father's mother's mother, because she does not read or write, because she chews tobacco and smokes a pipe" (p. 25). African Americans often

refer to each other as "brothers and sisters" whether they are actually related or not and referring to someone who may be called "aunt or uncle" can involve more than blood relations. Hill (1997) says that for black families, extended family was based on descent and marriage and involved a network of relatives.

Bromery speaks of extended family and he credits his grandmother with having a strong influence on his identity and his educational pursuits. Bromery remembers his grandmother as a gentle, strong and proud woman who had the courage to challenge injustice. He spoke specifically of his grandmother's desire and determination for him to learn math even though it was not available to him in the segregated school that he attended. Bromery says,

> I think that the most influence I had was my grandmother because my grandmother, my grandfather--we all lived in the same house and it was a very small house. We had one bathroom with coal heating. Of course we lived in Cumberland so we had access to coal. My grandmother was the strongest, dominant person in the house--gentle in some respects but pretty strict. She pretty well ran our house, ran the street and at times ran the city. There were times that she would go down to the mayor and threaten to hit him with her pocketbook. But her biggest fight was with the superintendent of schools. When I got to high school they had it so all the Black males took industrial arts--none of my family ever smoked but I must have made three dozen ashtrays. It was all right. As I grew up it helped me to do things around the house--But my sister took math and Latin and when my grandmother found out they wouldn't let me take the math class in school, she went to see the superintendent but he was Black and couldn't do much so she lost the battle for me to take math in high school. But what she did for me was to send me to the two teachers that taught my sister math in school and I used to go on Monday, Wednesday and Friday for one on one help. It really helped me later in life. When I told them I wanted to be a math major at the University of Michigan they laughed at me. But after I took a correspondence course to prove that I could do math they let me in. (personal communication, April 14, 1999)

Both Gates and Wade-Gayles also write extensively about the extended families that nurtured them and influenced their ways of thinking and being as African Americans.

Gates (1994) says of his grandmother, "Big Mom was astoundingly religious. I mean, if there is a Heaven, then Big Mom has *got* to be in it: you can have no doubt about that. Big Mom went to church *every* Sunday" (p 53). Wade-Gayles says that her grandmother had a great influence on her development and especially her desire to attend college. In describing her grandmother she says, "no one could have valued education and dignity more than she. With only a grade school education, she tried to give the appearance that she had gone further in school. 'If you hold your head up and never look down, people will think you're somebody'" (p. 24). Although Wade-Gayles intimates that she missed her father after he separated from her mother, she describes her family life as "stable and secure, stronger than many, including some with two parents present, and more loving than most. As a young girl of seven, I actually thought I was blessed. I had a mother, a grandmother, an aunt, and three uncles adoring me in one city; and a father, an aunt, and three uncles adoring me no less in another city" (p 58). Wade-Gayles also spoke of her grandmother's "Indian blood" and white lineage which were manifested in her physical appearance and her determination to have people respect her as a human being like any other.

Gates (1994) writes about the excitement he felt when he discovered at his grandfather's funeral that the accomplishments of his extended family (which he learned about through stories that his father told him) were real. He says, "that day was a revelation. Doctors and dentists, lawyers and pharmacists; Howard and Talladega, Harvard and Radcliffe--all of these careers and all of these schools were in my grandparents' living room that day, and each had a Gates face attached to it. It came as a shock to realize that these mythic characters in Daddy's tales were actual brown and tan and beige people. And refined. And well spoken. Obviously comfortable in the world" (p. 69). The color of African Americans skin in relation to the race's African heritage has always been a point of contention.

Deep African and American Roots

There's a saying in African American culture that "if you're black, get back, if you're brown stick around, and if you're white you're alright". Judgments based on skin color abound inside and outside of African American culture. Often, African Americans are thought of (and they think of themselves) in terms of their African heritage because darker skin color is a basis for the negative judgment of others. We spend an inordinate amount of time trying to cope with the connotations. Rarely do we acknowledge the American heritage that comes after the hyphen in the term African-American. But the American part of African Americans affects people in families too. Gates (1994) says that

> most of the Gates qualified as octoroons--'light and bright and damn near white,' Daddy said, turning the pages of the photo album. My grandfather and his father looked like white people, and they married the lightest black people they could find. Shit-colored niggers with Jesus Moss, people used to say. No need to claim they were part Irish, part English, part Dutch, part German, part anything, as my Coleman cousins and I felt compelled to do when we were around white kids in school. No, these people wore the complexity of their bloodlines on their faces and on the crowns of their heads (p. 73).

At a recent family reunion, I had my own point of reckoning with the totality of my heritage through a celebration of my ancestors from my French and Native American bloodlines which are equally as strong as my African roots. When I visited the cemetery in Mississippi with my Aunt Dorothy Mae as a part of my trip there for this research project, she proudly pointed to the grave sites of my great, great grandmother Millie Barial and my great, great grandfather, Francis Xavier Barial, who were White people thought to have immigrated from France in the late 1700s. Their daughter, Cecelia, is my paternal grandfather's mother. After my visit to the cemetery on October 3, 1999, I wrote:

> Knowing yourself requires that you understand your relationship to other people. Those who carry your same bloodline and those who do not. I have always been so very proud of my African heritage. If you look around my home you will see African masks, Kente cloth and paintings by African Americans. You'll also hear music by African Americans playing in my home. And now that I've come face to face with my Whiteness, I should think more about who I really am as a human being.

As Abbey Lincoln sings in her song about being African American--"I've got some people in me" (Moseka Music BMI, 1992, track 5). Most African Americans are of mixed heritage and this circumstance is one of the things that makes the African American experience particularly unique. Some of the scholar-activists that are included in this study have also had points of reckoning it terms of their "blended" identities and relationships to their families and communities. DuBois (1920) wrote eloquently and offered many details about the lineage of his family. Living in the same place as the family of his mother, DuBois came to know well the maternal side of his family. He says, "my own people were part of a great clan". He describes his mother by saying mother was dark shining bronze, with a tiny ripple in her black hair, black-eyed, with a heavy, kind face. She gave one the impression of infinite patience, but a curious determination was concealed in her softness" (p. 6). Although he did not have a close or ongoing relationship with him, DuBois knew of his father and his father's family. He describes his father as "small and beautiful of face and feature, just tinted with the sun, his curly hair chiefly revealing his kinship to Africa. In nature he was a dreamer,--romantic, indolent, kind, unreliable" (p. 7). At the age of 15, he had an opportunity to leave Great Barrington and travel to New Bedford to visit his grandfather. He said of his grandfather's approach to living with racism, "grandfather took his bitter dose like a thoroughbred. Wild as was his inner revolt against his treatment, he uttered no word against the thieves and made no plea" (p.8).

In recounting the story of his familial ties to Whites, he wrote wistfully of his ancestors and established his connection with a larger group of people. "So with some

circumstance having finally gotten myself born, with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but thank God! no 'Anglo-Saxon,' I come to the days of my childhood". In the early part of his life, DuBois seemed to be actively seeking the approval of not just his family, but also of Whites. He recalls how in growing up in New England, his playmates were white and he was happy to be one of the group. But he says, "then slowly, I realized that some folks, a few, even several, actually considered my brown skin a misfortune; once or twice I became painfully aware that some human beings even thought it a crime" (p. 11). DuBois' singular focus on academic excellence had much to do with him wanting to measure up to the standards set forth by Whites so that the "veil" could be removed allowing him to be merely a human being. His aspirations to attend Harvard also seemed to emanate from his desire to measure up, since he viewed success at Harvard (and so do many others) as the pinnacle of achievement. He says "Harvard was the goal of my dreams, but my white friends hesitated and my colored friends were silent. Harvard was a mighty conjure-word in that hill town, and even the mill owner's sons aimed lower" (p. 13).

hooks (1996) also writes about her mixed heritage. She recounts how her grandmother told her stories about her ancestry so that she could better understand who she was as a person. hooks writes, "Sara tells me that white folks and even some niggers like to make fun when a colored person says that they are part Indian but she says in those days there were many such unions, many such marriages. She talks sadly about this need in people to make other people deny parts of themselves. She tells me that a person cannot feel right in their heart if they have denied parts of their ancestral past, that this not feeling right in the heart is the cause of much pain" (p. 49). hooks makes the point that her grandmother did not read or write but she still considered education to be important. hooks (1996) recalls that her grandmother's kitchen was one of her favorite places to be. She says, "her kitchen is filled with strings of hot peppers she has grown and dried. She tells me that the best way to live in the world is to learn to make things grow" (p. 60).

Words of Wisdom

When I was growing up, my Grandma Bea lived in North Carolina and I lived in Massachusetts but her words and wisdom lived through my mother and my aunt who were constantly saying "like Ma says" and repeating some of her words of wisdom. My grandmother never finished high school, but the level of her knowledge, understanding and wisdom surpasses some of the most learned scholars I know. In the summers, when we visited with my grandparents I would sit on her front porch and just listen to her stories about things that had happened in life and ways that she and others overcame adversity. One of my favorite pearls of wisdom that I treasure from my grandmother, who is now 90 years old, is her notion that "it's a big world". She offers this expression when people express amazement or dismay when trouble comes their way. What she means by this expression is that we should not be surprised by what we see or what may happen to us because the universe produces infinite experiences. We should always be ready to handle what comes our way with style, humility and dignity.

hooks (1996) recalls that her grandmother also taught her wisdom through streams of affirmations and cultural sayings. She says, "Big Mama says there is plenty of time in life to bake cakes, tells us about not crying over spilled milk. We love this telling" (p. 27). The title of Wade-Gayles (1993) autobiography, Pushed Back to Strength--A Black Woman's Journey Home, is a reflection of her grandmother's affirmation about what it means to be "pushed back to strength". She explains that being pushed back to strength is a reference to the way that adversity builds character, and African American families and communities are the places where strength can be found. In speaking about the lessons she learned from family and the ways that they were taught to her, Wade-Gayles says, "they were gifted storytellers, my family, and all of them enjoyed center stage in the ritual of 'holding forth'. But my grandmother Nola was the most gifted of them all" (p. 136).

Bromery told several stories about the wisdom that his grandmother shared with him. One of the most important lessons involved self-determination and helping him to develop a strong sense of himself. Bromery's story illustrates the significance of familial connections in the development of identity and resiliency of African American youth when it comes to racism. He explains,

> I go back to my grandmother who was a disciplinarian. We got spankings and sat in the chair many times but she loved us--I'm glad I had that. I remember she called me in one day and she said 'Billy, I want to talk to you'--she started teaching me how to cook. I'd get up on the stool and she'd talk to me. She told me 'every morning when you get up and go into the bathroom to wash your face I want you to stop for a couple of minutes and look at your face and I want you to look into your eyes and I want you to keep doing that until one day you will see who you are. If you don't know who you are then they'll make you who they want you to be and you'll be sad. When you go out there in life there are a lot of people who will make you what they want you to be. This is important.' I did it because she told me to. I couldn't stop looking at my nose, my eyebrows until one day my persistence paid off and I looked in there and I really did see--I can't tell you what it was but something in my brain went off--it was like magic--I knew who I was and where I wanted to go (personal communication, April 14, 1999).

Wade-Gayles (1993) says that her mother told her continuously that "lies hurt, but they won't kill when your conscience is clear. Your own truth. That's all that matters" and "in the worst kind of winds, you have to stand up tall" and "everybody is somebody and ain't nobody nothing" (pp. 94, 95, 202). To help her understand the importance of being anchored in African American traditions, Wade-Gayles said that her mother "always talked about roots, values that were anchored in loving yourself and in loving your people. Roots. 'Little people make big people, she would say, and big people become small when they forget where they came from' " (p. 209).

Streams of affirmations like those offered by Wade-Gayles', hooks' , Bromery's and my own grandmothers helped African Americans to endure the pain of racism and to plan

strategies for success. Often, these affirmations were spoken in the context of conversations that occurred at family gatherings and community settings where African Americans have been "educated" and inspired to achieve their personal goals and to act on behalf of the race. Wade-Gayles (1993) says that "segregation proscribed narrow places for us, but the black family, black schools, and the black church together showed us the world. It was ours they said in unison, to claim and to change" (p. 116). Gates (1994) also writes about the regular family gatherings that were held to celebrate holidays and special occasions in his hometown. He describes in detail the behavior of different people in his family and the community and the lessons that he learned from them as he was growing up. Wade-Gayles probably speaks for many scholar-activists when she says, that "I believe that my love for teaching (which is, in a way, performance) and my love for poetry were born in those family gatherings" (p. 36).

African American children also learned about sexual relationships and gender roles from the elders in community settings. Wade-Gayles' (1993) said that her mother taught her that "girls had to believe in themselves and be strong enough to fight off traducers of any kind". She says that her mother "talked openly about biological differences between women and men and about emotional differences as well. Men could have pleasure in a second, and with anyone. A perfect stranger, in fact. A woman's pleasure, on the other hand, she said, required time, intimacy, and commitment" (p. 98). Aside from the home and church, barber shops and beauty shops have also been places in the community where many of these important lessons about relationships were learned. Gates (1994) reminisces that "when I started to grow up--to erupt, really, in the sixties, Daddy would let me listen to the men talk, in bars and in Mr. Comby Carroll's barbershop in Keyser" (p. 172). Gates credits these conversations with helping him and his friends to understand sexual mores. Wade-Gayles (1993) concludes that "these caveats were central lessons about gender which were as important as lessons about race. Both furrowed our path toward wholeness" (p. 87).

Role of the Black Church

Church within the African American community has played a notable role in the ability of African Americans to persevere and to "keep the faith". Walker (1979) refers to the black church as "the American fruit of an African root" and he explains that the church has traditionally served as an institution for social action as well as for religious experience (p. 19). Frazier (1964) explains the tradition and function of the African American church as an institution when he says, "the Negro slave found in Christianity a theology and a new orientation toward the world at large and in doing so he adapted the Christian religion to his psychological and social needs" (p. 19). Cooper (1998) acknowledges the importance of church in the lives of African Americans and suggests that the church is an institution that can be useful to the struggle for liberation. She says, "this people already look to the Church as the hope of their race" (p. 65). Walker (1979) contends that "the religious beliefs captured and preserved in song, transformed the property of the slave owners into the children of God" (p. 180).

Wade-Gayles (1993) writes that "like secret religious gatherings of slaves, the black church during my growing up years in the South was never exclusively about the salvation of our souls. It was a finishing school, a reading program, a leadership institute, and a counseling center, and in all of these services, the focus was on developing children into articulate, respectful, well-mannered, responsible, disciplined and self-affirmed individuals wearing a green light for success" (p 105). hooks (1996) describes the influence of church on her life by writing about the encouragement that she received from one of the church's founders. She says,

> Every Sunday Miss Erma sits on the third pew...
> she is one who will tell you that she has been watching
> you from birth, that she has seen you grow.....She first
> spoke to me when I began reading the scripture for the
> morning offering, listening to my voice rising softly above

> the click of coins, the organ music, like smoke, drifting and settling. She waited for me after church, to hold me in those arms, to tell me that my reading (like the preacher's sermon) also found its way into the heart, also pressed itself against the beating (pp. 43-45).

This woman became an influence on hooks as she visited her house and received gifts and encouragement from her. hooks says that she gained confidence from Miss Erma's faith in her ability to speak to the hearts of people.

Church was an influence on my life too. My parents did not attend church, but a couple who lived across the street from me invited me to attend church with their family which consisted of two girls whom I loved to play with. At church, I joined the choir and I marveled at the orderliness of the service and the encouragement that I received to achieve my life's goals. The church members were known as the "upper crust" of the community with several teachers and other professionals in attendance. The few teachers who taught in the public schools also taught Sunday School at my church. In my eyes, these people not only came together on Sundays, but they were the people in the forefront of African Americans' struggle for liberation. My pastor even ran for Mayor of the city, and I was so proud to be a part of a group of devoted people who supported and helped each other to make change. Prayer and song on Sunday and the community gathering that followed the service were important aspects of my life. Recently, I had the occasion to deliver a speech at the church and in the audience were some of the same people who attended when I went there. As a part of the statement which I wrote and then presented to them in 1998, I said, "I want to thank you all for giving me a sense of myself and knowledge of the Spirit of the living God. I quietly observed you each Sunday and your faithful service to God, the church and African Americans was duly noted. From you I learned that the world would present adversity to me just because of the color my skin, and I also learned that no one with such evil thoughts and deeds could withstand the power of God".

As a minister, Crummell was very clear about the role of the church in the African American community. He pastored churches in several communities and spent more than twenty years of his later life as rector for St. Luke's Church in Washington, D.C. Crummell (1992) connects religion with activism when he says, "Let me be understood. I do not mean that Christianity divorces any of us disciples from our earthly relations and duties. I have no faith in that sort of piety which is so divine and unearthly, that it can't attend to the concerns and responsibilities of life" (p. 102). Cooper (1998) explains the importance of belief in God and the ubiquitous nature of religious belief when she says, "and as for God--science finds him not. If there be a God--He is unknown and unknowable. The finite mind of man cannot conceive the Infinite and Eternal....Religion must be life made true; and life is action, growth, development--begun now and ending never" (pp. 189, 194). Crummell and Cooper both wrote of African Americans' destiny in terms of a special place in God's plan to test the goodness and righteousness of humanity.

Gates (1994) devotes an entire chapter in his autobiography to a description of how he felt about joining the church. He says, "people got all dressed up to go to church, and everybody went: Baptist, Holiness, or Methodist....I went to church every Sunday, all clean and pressed, greased down and shining, clean as I could be" (p. 115). He says that "what the church did provide was a sense of community, moments of intimacy, of belonging to a culture" (p. 116). Gates recounts his experience of having to recite a "piece" in church during the Easter service. Simmons explains her relationship to the church by saying that "my family was a very religious family. My father was a minister and that had an impact on me. I think about the things that I did as a child. Having to get up in church when I was 4 years old and form my hands like this (she cups her hands together) and to recite an Easter poem, for example, and the ways that those cultural and religious settings in the community give children an opportunity to be heard and to gain a sense of confidence and so on really helped me" (personal communication, April 12, 1999).

While the church served as the institution for people to come together, sometimes people had misgivings about the social role that the church played in terms of it being the place for people to dress up, to be seen and to gossip and also about the denominational schisms that occurred. Wade-Gayles (1993) makes a distinction between people who are "churchy-fied" and those who are spiritual by explaining her mother's philosophy about religion. She comments, "churchy-fied people made the institution of the church the center of their lives. For them, service was confined within the structure. For Mama, it was outside of the structure" (p. 108). Wade-Gayles (1993) writes about her mother's faith in God (outside of the church), the spirit and nature as holding the answer to many of life's questions including cures for illnesses. She says that "the church taught us that the Lord protects us from 'thine enemies', evens prepares a table for us in their presence" (p. 110).

Similarly, hooks (1996) tells about her experience with church and she says that her grandmother talked to her about God often. She also makes the distinction between church and spirit when she says "she tells me that believing in god has nothing to do with going to church" (p. 53). The level of emotionalism displayed in church based on denomination has always been a consideration for African Americans. As a Methodist, Crummell (1992) expressed his conservative view of emotion by saying, "it is truth, and not feeling which is sought by the Holy Spirit. It is conviction, not emotion; sacred principle, and not excitement; high morality, instead of glowing sentiment; solid character in the place of vivid sensation, which are the prime characteristics of our holy faith" (p. 140). Crummell makes this distinction to highlight the active and transformative nature of religion as opposed to mere emotional feelings. Gates (1994) acknowledged the different practices of various denominations and said "the truth is, I always avoided the Holiness Church, because I was afraid of the power that I knew lived in there" (p. 121). Crummell, hooks, Gates and Wade-Gayles all spoke of their "conversion" experiences when they joined the church, were baptized and/or accepted the spirit as real.

My paternal grandmother served her church faithfully as an organist and steadfast member for more than forty years and so my Uncle Alton Joseph quite naturally attended church on a regular basis. My grandmother was a Baptist and my grandfather was Catholic. The children had a chance to choose what church they would attend, but membership in a church somewhere was required. I attended my grandmother's church on my research visit and I sat on the pew that bears her name. My grandmother Lillian was a devoted member of her church and my aunt and cousin serve prominent roles there now. Being in Mississippi led me to think about the bowels of racism. I noticed the way that African American people had carved out a world for themselves in the midst of racism and I wrote in my journal that "I am blessed to be a child of Lillian and a child of God".

During the time that he attended college, my uncle said that chapel services were a requirement and he attended to be a part of the community as well as to devote some time to spiritual reflection. Simmons said that the chapel at Dillard University played an important role in her life during college. As a student activist, Simmons says that she challenged the administration of the college to eliminate chapel as a requirement because she says, "I thought that faith was an active thing and people should go to chapel because they were moved to go there--not because they were required or forced to do it". As a result of her activist activities, Simmons says that she learned that college is an important place for students to define themselves and to develop their leadership skills (personal communication, April 7, 1999). DuBois (1969) says that "I was not 'religious' but I was honest and believed, in our placid New England way, most of the church creed" (p. 109). Attending college in the South, DuBois later became impatient with the church as an organization when he was admonished by a minister for dancing in the homes of friends. DuBois also came to resent "the church as an institution which defended such evils as slavery, color caste, exploitation of labor and war" (p. 285).

Music for the Spirit

The music that was part of African Americans' lived experiences also frequently surfaced as the scholar-activists described their lives in the contexts of family and community. Walker (1979) contends that "music is one of the three major support systems in Black church worship. Preaching and praying are the other two" (p. 22). He explains the importance of the auditory experience (as opposed to literary) and speaks of music as a "route to the heart". The emotion and rhythm contained in African American music that originated in the church carries with it faith and liberation themes. Walker (1979) says that "the music of the Black religious tradition operates on two levels: first, psychologically and emotionally--it locates people's sense of heritage, their roots, where they are and where they want to go; and secondly, it mobilizes and strengthens the resolve for struggle". He concludes that "Black sacred music is the primary reservoir of the Black people's historical context and an important factor in the process of social change" (p. 181). DuBois (1969) confirmed this contention when he said that he "was thrilled and moved to tears" when for the first time he heard "Negro folk songs". He was obviously affected by the music and the Southern environment as he said that he came to "recognize something inherently and deeply my own" (p. 106).

Writing in the third person, hooks (1996) describes, with depth, the importance of music to African Americans and her experience with music in church. "On communion Sundays they sing without musical accompaniment. They keep alive the old ways, the call and response. They sing slow and hold each note as if it is caught in the trap of time-struggling to be free. Like the bread and the wine they do it this way so as not to forget what the past has been. She listens to the strength in the voices of elderly women as they call out. She sings in the choir. She loves the singing" (p128). Wade-Gayles (1993) recalls the call and response in her church through the spoken word and singing. She says, "the congregation would chant the refrain: *'He is able. Hallelujah! He is able.*' The choir would sing a shouting song, and the preacher would continue calling new members to the

house of the Lord. 'He is able. He is able. Able. Able. ABLE to make a way out of no way' " (p. 7). Other forms of music have also influenced the development of African Americans and impacted the lived experiences of African American scholar-activists.

Gates (1994) says that "learning to listen to jazz was like stepping into a secret universe" (p. 182). hooks (1996) says that she learned about jazz from her father and heard music in her home on the radio and phonograph. She says that her father explained that "to listen, is to feel understood". Speaking in the third person about her experiences, she further writes that, "to her, black people make passionate music. She knows that there is no such thing as natural rhythm. She knows it is intensity of feeling, the constant knowing that death is real and a possibility that makes the music what it is. She knows that it is the transformation of suffering and sorrow into sound that bears witness to a black past" (pp. 127-128). hooks also says that she enjoyed singing in the choir and dancing. The sound of music was always in her home as it served as background for cleaning and an environment for celebration and relaxation. Bromery extemporaneously shared remembrances of his visits to Harlem and the music that he heard there. He explained that both he and his father played musical instruments. For me, music is a refuge and a resource. I listen to the music that African Americans make to nurture my spirit, to feed my intellect and to move my body. From the beat of the drum in Africa, there has been a rhythm over time that has sustained African Americans and yielded a genius and courage that few other groups of people can claim.

Wade-Gayles (1993) characterizes African American people as people "of the soil". She says that "they are warm, embracing, accepting, spirited and spiritual, musical, and given their big-bosomed religion, nonthreatening" (p. 178). Speaking of the ability of African American people to empower and affirm themselves, Mitchell and Cooper-Lewter (1986) say that "the bottom line of their balance is that they have a positive sense of relationship to God and God's creation, however stated or envisioned" (pp. 5-6). Hill (1997) concludes that the strengths of black families includes teaching children how to

respect themselves and how to achieve against the odds by being resilient. West (1994) points to the efficacy of African American institutions such as the family, churches and schools and their impact on human development when he says, "these precious black institutions forged a mighty struggle against the white supremacist bombardment of black people. They empowered black children to learn against the odds and supported damaged black egos so they could keep fighting; they preserved black sanity in an absurd society in which racism ruled unabated; and they provided opportunities for black love to stay alive" (p. 124).

Sekayi (1997) reports that spirituality, family and community played critical roles in the development of the intellectual-activists who participated in her study. This research study of the lived experiences of selected scholar-activists also reveals that African American families and communities have been able to plant and cultivate seeds of hope and collective responsibility within its children. The scholar-activists' autobiographies that I read were filled with numerous stories about things that family members and others said and did to demonstrate that education was a tool for liberation. Moreover, each of the scholar-activists had someone who encouraged him or her to pursue higher education. For DuBois, it was his mother's sacrifices and his neighbors' support that allowed him to go to college. Although neither of his parents were college graduates, Gates had teachers, friends and role models within his own family that inspired him to pursue higher education. Simmons credits Black teachers and her family with making a way for her to attend college. Bromery says his grandmother expected nothing less. Wade-Gayles was encouraged by her mother's "single-eye", her grandmother's dignity and faith in education and her extended family and teacher's view of her as someone who was "special". hooks (1989) said that she decided college was important because "we learned that education for black folks was hard to come by, was struggle, was necessary--a way to be free" (p. 62). "Higher" education can certainly make a difference in someone's life.

Higher Education and Its Influence on Identity Development

While family, community and church have played prominent roles in the scholar-activists' lives, the individual and collective experiences of African Americans in higher education have also contributed to the development of scholar-activists' identities and actions. As we have established, for African Americans, the larger environment is filled with messages, images and actions that demean (and sometimes de-humanize) them. Satisfaction from the environment outside of the family and culture may be illusive. Consequently, one might expect that an African American would not find satisfaction from the larger environment involved with a college or university because his/her ego would probably be stunted. In clinical terms, severe mental illness could be a result. In a televised speech, Benjamin Hooks, former Executive Director of the NAACP put this predicament another way when speaking on television he said that "with the way that racism is practiced in this country, it's a wonder that every Black person in America is not insane". So how do African Americans develop a healthy sense of self from higher education in the face of insidious racism that affects the psyche on both the conscious and unconscious levels?

In American society going to college is a privilege and a challenge. Because higher education is generally available to students who are coming into adulthood, it offers people teaching and learning experiences at some critical points in their lives. The environment of higher education for African Americans has clearly been shaped by race issues beginning with slavery and continuing to the present time. Akbar (1984) vividly describes the intersection of race, history and psychology when he says, "that slavery feeds on the psychology, invading the soul of man, destroying his loyalties to himself and establishing allegiances to forces which destroy him, is an even worse from of capture...in highlighting slavery influences we are demonstrating a distinct determinant which does not have great legitimacy in Western Psychology, and that is the notion that individual

behavior can be influenced by collective factors which are also historically remote" (p. 2-4). Thus, even though slavery is history, it has contributed to the psychological make-up of African Americans and others in ways that lead to differing world views and differing perspectives about education. Without satisfaction/affirmation from the larger environment, African Americans have developed a "higher" sense of being and a certain philosophy about the field and function of "higher" education.

West (1994) contends that "people, especially degraded and oppressed people, are also hungry for identity, meaning and self-worth" (p. 97). The perceived influences of "higher" education on the scholar-activists' identities included in this study were particularly related to their views of themselves as leaders and their responsibility to take action as a result of the knowledge and credentials that they had gained. For most of the participants, acquiring knowledge in college was one thing, but having wisdom meant that you knew what to do with the knowledge and that you had the courage to take action. West emphasizes that "the quest for black identity involves self-respect and self-regard, realms inseparable from, yet not identical to, political power and economic status" (p. 97).

Hopson and Hopson (1990) summarize Cross' theory of identity development which suggests that Black people in America develop an identity, a sense of "Black consciousness" through a five stage model. These stages are summarized as follows:

Stage 1: Pre-encounter	Blacks adopt the view that Whites are superior and Blacks are inferior
Stage 2: Encounter	Usually after some negative encounter in the environment, Black adopt a pro-Black and anti-White outlook. Anger and a search for a Black identity are evident.
Stage 3: Immersion-Emersion	Blacks are on a mission to understand their experience as a Black person. Black rage comes together with reason and the person wants to be more involved with development of the Black community

Stage 4: Internalization	The person may take one of four actions: * Return to stage 1 because of disillusionment * Become stuck at stage 3 with hatred for Whites * Become satisfied with Blackness without action * Become actively involved with political action in the Black community
Stage 5: Commitment	The person develops a sense of brotherhood with all oppressed people and takes concrete steps to be involved with social change through political action

According to Cross' model, Stage 5 is the point when African Americans can accept themselves as "worthwhile and complete human beings". Self-esteem is high. At this stage, a person is proactively involved with making changes in society and views him or her self as being an empowered leader instead of a victim of racism (p. 191-92)

Asante (1988) offers five levels of awareness that he says leads to transformation. They are: 1) skin recognition; 2) environmental recognition; 3) personality awareness; 4) interest-concern; and 5) Afrocentric awareness. Explicit in Asante's theory is the idea that consciousness is a key ingredient for human development because it facilitates action and growth. Asante's and Cross' theories are similar because in each of the stages a person becomes increasingly more aware of their connection to African American culture (collective consciousness) and to the spirit world. Asante notes that in the final stage the person has made a commitment to and becomes involved in "the struggle for his or her own mind liberation". He emphasizes the African American legacy of spiritual connectedness when he says, "Afrocentricity is like rhythms, it dictates the beat of your life" (p. 49).

The exceptional scholar-activists I studied told stories and wrote extensively about some of the critical incidents related to their lived experiences in higher education. They

all report that higher education raised their consciousness, shaped their thoughts and cultivated their commitment to action. Each of the scholar-activists moved through the stages of identity development in varied ways and, according to the identity theories, each of them was able to reach the highest stage possible, which is a commitment to activism. The timeframe for college attendance and the type of institution that the scholars attended had a significant influence on the ways that higher education shaped their identities. Those scholars who attended HBCUs were more likely to report positive experiences that shaped their lives and determined their actions. African American scholars who attended PWCUs were more likely to relate stories and pinpoint critical incidents based on negative experiences in higher education. Significantly, the scholar-activists represented in this study were able to transform the negative higher education experiences into positive ones that could propel them forward.

In my 1997 pilot study on the persistence of African American males in higher education, I found that the intrinsic isolation of PWCUs can be an impediment to retention and degree completion for African American males. Terrell Hill, the participant in the study, describes how many African Americans view the environment of PWCUs. He said,

> The environment is cold...it doesn't reflect my race or culture. I go through an average day and I won't see another Black male. They're so scattered, I feel totally disconnected. I have so many classes where I'm the only one and it's a downer. I wish I could have more brothers in class so they could express their opinions and views. When I go into a classroom, who is teaching the class? I sometimes feel like an island all by myself. If I wasn't a strong person, I couldn't make it.

In response to a question about how he eventually adjusted to his predominantly white college environment, he said, " I met some other Black students and I started to get involved. For a while I was the Third World student representative". Hill also suggested that he had learned to be flexible so that he could relate to this environment which he

perceived as antithetical to his culture and he developed support systems outside of higher education so he could stay connected to the community (personal communication, October 17, 1997).

Wade-Gayles' (1993) description of the environment that she faced living as a graduate student in Boston also provides us with a vivid picture of what African Americans are faced with in predominantly white environments. She reveals that

> Boston in 1959 was a strange city. Unattractive, cold, and spiritually desolate. Disappointing. At least for me, a black woman from the South. A daughter of the sun. I was accustomed to people talking with animation on street corners, in grocery stores, and across dusty courtyards. People sitting on front porches watching children, all of whom 'belonged' to them. People approaching me with smiles followed by warm hellos. Nothing seemed right about this city. Even its music was wrong. Monotone. Without soul (p. 123).

Wade-Gayles describes at length her perceptions of the character of Boston and she concludes that "Boston failed every test on racial sensitivity and racial justice." She did not find the environment within higher education to be any more inviting, as she writes that "universities could have made a difference had they been different. They were not. They were a microcosm of the world outside their gates" (p.123).

Wade-Gayles compares her experience as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at Boston University (BU) with her experience as an undergraduate at LeMoyne College in Memphis. Having successfully navigated through the pre-encounter and encounter stages of Cross' model, she gives her professors from LeMoyne the credit for helping her to move through the immersion-emersion stage. The African American scholars that she encountered in the environment of a HBCU gave her encouragement and advice about her life mission and commitment to African American liberation. She says that they admonished her to "remember what you're there for", "don't let them make you doubt yourself", "you're doing this for black students to come" and "excel" (p. 124). A critical

incident for Wade-Gayles while attending BU was her membership in the local chapter of the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE). She says that "I know only that my life changed when I became an activist with CORE in 1961" (p. 128). In the commitment stage, she took concrete action to connect with others who were struggling against racism and in the process she developed a healthy sense of herself as an African American scholar.

Simmons (personal communication, April 7, 1999) has also had contrasting experiences with HBCUs and PWCUs. She credits Dillard University, a HBCU located in New Orleans and her alma mater, with nurturing her leadership abilities, and she tells the story of how she turned a potentially negative student exchange experience at Wellesley into a positive experience that affirmed her identity. She says,

> I am so grateful for places like Dillard. I don't know what would have happened to me without Dillard. When I went to Wellesley it was just pure academic. People weren't interested in the fact that you were different. It wasn't a sensitive place, it was a cold place, a very large place compared to Dillard. I was lucky enough to be on a hallway where I could make friends but I felt tolerated more than anything. The economic differences were so substantial--I just couldn't do the things that these students were doing. Nevertheless, the students were welcoming. I visited Connecticut and Pennsylvania with my hall mates but they didn't really have any idea of the chasm that separated us. The academic program was quite rigorous and I went to a French class where I couldn't understand what was going on. I went to the professor and he assured me that eventually I would come to understand what was happening in the classroom. I'll never forget the day it clicked--that was a turning point--it was symbolic to me--it spoke of my psychological health. I didn't get into the poor me thing--I had no choice but to stay by sticking it out and working hard. It was the best experience--since then I never thought there was a problem that I couldn't handle. I learned to depend on myself. That experience forced me not to rely on the kindness of strangers.

Simmons was able to move through Asante's model involving recognition of both her race and her environment. She achieved the stage 3 personality awareness (the internalization stage in Cross' model) when she discovered that she had the fortitude and skill to not only handle the emotions that come from isolation, but also the courage to face adversity and achieve success. Simmons went on to graduate school and continued to study languages.

hooks (1989) attended Stanford University and she contrasts her experiences in the segregated schools with her experiences in a predominantly white college to make the point that a hostile environment can negatively impact on student achievement. hooks, though, transformed her dismay and anger into the intensity of her study and teaching. She explains the thinking and actions which propelled her through all stages of Asante and Cross' identity models. She states that the classroom environment that she experienced in higher education was "a place I hated, yet a place where I struggled to claim and maintain the right to be an independent thinker. The university and the classroom began to feel more like a prison, a place of punishment and confinement rather than a place of promise and possibility" (p. 4). hooks decries the poor communication skills of professors and she says "they were not self-actualized, and they often used the classroom to enact rituals of control that were about domination and the unjust exercise of power. In these settings I learned a lot about the kind of teacher I did not want to become" (p. 4-5).

I had many such experiences in higher education at the PWCUs that I attended as a student. While I have never attended a truly segregated school or a HBCU, I could clearly identify ways that the PWCU environment was hostile to me and my cultural aspirations. Probably the most nurturing environment that I experienced was at Smith College where as a "privileged" undergraduate I reached for a "top shelf" education. When I initially learned about the world of White elites, I became angry and sad and doubtful. The white women students at Smith treated me curiously. They asked me if I had blue blood and if it would be all right for them to touch my hair. Having lived through the Civil Rights Movement, I was not thrilled to have rich white girls casting any dispersions on or raising

any questions about my humanity. My response was to stay as far away from them as I could and since we had a Black Student Alliance (BSA) and a cultural center (named after an African graduate no less), I could keep my distance.

There were other African American women on campus who felt the same way as I did, and our resolve to deny assimilation and "stay black" never died. At Smith, though, the professors viewed me as a "certified Negro". If I was good enough to get into Smith College, then I must be worthy of higher learning. While I was considered an outstanding student in my public high school, the secondary education that I received did not compare to the education of the elite cadre of women who attended the college. I remember when in my first economics course, the professor asked the students in the class to discuss GNP. Everyone in the class was in on the discussion and I sat there dumb founded wondering what GNP was, and what it meant. I went to the professor's office after class and explained to him that I was lost. I'll never forget his response because it helped me through the pre-encounter and encounter stages of Cross' model. He told me that it was all right that I did not know what GNP was and he asked me to consider the fact that the other women in the class have been discussing GNP at their dinner tables for a very long time. At that point, I internalized my human rights and turned frustration into a determination to excel academically, to learn more about African Americans and to do something about racism.

The mitigating factors for me at Smith were the professors' high expectations for a Smith student, the cadre of African American scholar-activists who were hired by the college to mentor and teach students, and the sophisticated network of other African American students and cultural activities that cultivated my interests and inspired action. With Smith's great financial resources, the support offered to me on many levels was tremendous. I was affirmed and the investments paid off. When I finished my undergraduate studies, I received a graduate scholarship from Smith and a Fellowship from a consortium of business schools and corporations. Despite my mother's advice to

the contrary, I chose to attend the University of North Carolina instead of Northwestern. I was longing for warm weather and since North Carolina was the state of my mother's birth and the home of my grandmother, I thought it would treat me right. But I was mistaken and my higher education experience at UNC was excruciating and disheartening.

My mother's fears about the racist treatment I might encounter in her home state were not unfounded. In 1975 when I stepped onto the campus, I was told by some white students that I belonged at North Carolina Central University (the local HBCU). When I walked across campus, a bag of water was thrown at me from a dormitory window. And when I went to class, a professor told me that Jesse Helms was a friend of his and he was going to make sure that affirmative action was reversed so that African Americans could not attend UNC. (He was not too keen on women being in business either.) Sure enough, the headlines of the newspaper declared that Helms was in Congress fighting to eliminate affirmative action. To put it mildly, I was angry and hurt. In fact, I was seething and I was not afraid to show it or to let others know it.

There were eleven African Americans who started the graduate program in business administration with me. Most of them were from prestigious colleges and universities including Stanford, Princeton, and the University of Chicago. We supported each other in whatever ways we could and each of us struggled with how we were going to handle stage 4 of Cross' model--internalization. By the end of the first year, eight of my fellow African American students were gone. Several of them "flunked out" and at least two of them decided to transfer to business schools in the North. I was angry and I refused to leave. I would not let them run me away from an opportunity that I worked hard to have and if I left, wouldn't this mean that they would just do this again to other African American students?

I did well in many of my classes, especially the organizational behavior and integrated management classes. I was appalled in most of the classes because I was learning the facts about how to conduct business and for me some of the techniques

bordered on unethical. I was not impressed when we were taught how to manipulate the psyche in marketing class or how to avoid paying taxes in the accounting class. I was really dismayed when I wanted to write a paper in my finance class about the lack of capital for African American businesses and the professor told me that my topic would not be accepted and that the African American scholars that I used as sources for my research were not credible. I cried, although not in front of the professor. I was stuck on stage 3 of Cross' model.

My real point of reckoning came in the international business course which was taught by the professor who boasted about being friends with Jesse Helms. Professor B. taught us that the best approach to doing business in a foreign country was to get to know the culture of the people so you could exploit their weaknesses. I was shocked and appalled. In every class, I sat in the back of the room in the corner with my arms folded and glared at the professor. When he gave us a final essay examination and expected us to spit back the philosophy and techniques that he taught us, I rebelled and offered my own opinion about how different cultures might collaborate to effect business. It was the last semester of my two year program and he gave me a failing grade for the course. I was livid. I went to my apartment, packed my bags and left the state of North Carolina. I explained to my new employer that while I finished the program and had the knowledge, the degree would not be forthcoming. Since they had no objections, I went on with my professional career in business and for more than fifteen years, I was bitter about my experience at UNC. I had never received a F before or since that incident.

hooks (1994) shares her frustrations in graduate school and explains my dilemma at UNC well. She says, "nonconformity on our part was viewed with suspicion, as empty gestures of defiance aimed at masking inferiority or substandard work. In those days, those of us from marginal groups who were allowed to enter prestigious, predominantly white colleges were made to feel that we were there not to learn but to prove that we were the equal of whites. We were there to prove this by showing how well we could

become clones of our peers. As we confronted biases, an undercurrent of stress diminished our learning experience" (p. 5). Professor B.'s success with domination and control at UNC consumed me even after I left UNC. When I learned that others (primarily women and African Americans) had also received low grades and that I could appeal the grade, I was not relieved. My fury blinded me and I decided not to pursue an appeal when I found out that one of the professor's closest colleagues was the appeal committee chairperson. I hastily left North Carolina in 1977 and headed to the North even though one of the largest banks in the area tried to persuade me to stay and start a career there.

Too many years later in 1994, I finally got to a point where I could put my bitterness to rest and I arranged for a meeting with a committee of the faculty at UNC, provided them with documentation and requested an opportunity to complete my degree. Sitting on the committee was the finance professor who refused to let me study African American businesses. I wrote in my appeal letter that "in 1975, I arrived at UNC eager and as always, committed to pursue excellence and to achieve my highest potential through my graduate study experience. I was, however, dismayed and discouraged by the attitudes and actions of some of the other students and faculty at UNC". When I traveled to North Carolina in 1994 for the committee meeting, I walked around the campus and cried. After the meeting, I received a letter that my request for re-instatement was denied and I closed that chapter on my life. In retrospect, I can say that I am grateful for that experience in higher education because like hooks, the experience taught me about what I did not want to do or be like as a professor. It was a painful (and expensive) lesson but as a result of that experience I have been able to strengthen my resolve to help eradicate racism and I have refined my teaching practice. This experience demonstrates that higher education can be both demanding and uplifting when one has the ability to overcome adversity and persevere.

DuBois (1968) faced the challenge of isolation at Harvard University in the late 1800s. He says, "to make my own attitude toward the Harvard of that day clear, it must be

remembered that I went to Harvard as a Negro, not simply by birth, but by recognizing myself as a member of a segregated caste whose situation I accepted but was determined to work from within that caste to find my way out. About the Harvard of which most white students conceived I knew little". DuBois regarded himself as a serious student at Harvard and he was not interested in trying to become a part of social life of the college. He looked off-campus to find housing at "a colored home" and says that he tried to ignore the white world. He referred to this strategy as "self-protective coloration, with perhaps an inferiority complex, but with belief in the ability and future of black folk." (p. 132).

DuBois (1968) writes, "I was firm in my criticism of white folk and in my dream of a Negro self-sufficient culture even in America. This cutting off of myself from my white fellows, or being cut off, did not mean unhappiness or resentment. I was in my early manhood, unusually full of high spirits and humor. I thoroughly enjoyed life. I was conscious of understanding and power, and conceited enough still to imagine, as in high school, that they who did not know me were the losers, not I" (p. 136). DuBois was existing at Harvard based on what he described as an "island within" (p. 139). Yet, because of his isolation and his mission to elevate the status of African Americans, he worked hard to excel in his studies.

In comparing his scholarship while at Harvard to his studies at Fisk, DuBois says, "I did not find better teachers at Harvard, but teachers better known, who had wider facilities for gaining knowledge and had a broader atmosphere for approaching truth" (p. 133). DuBois credits Harvard with strengthening his academic skills and relates a critical incident when he turned a negative into a positive and improved his writing. He says, "I knew grammar fairly well, and I had a pretty wide vocabulary; but I was bitter, angry and intemperate in my first thesis". DuBois reports that he received an "E-not passed" on his paper and that "it was the first time in my scholastic career that I had encountered such a failure". He said that he did not doubt the fairness of the grade and from the experience he learned that "solid content with literary style carries a message further than poor

grammar and muddled syntax" (p. 144). DuBois had clearly reached Cross' stage 5--commitment and Asante's level of afrocentric awareness because he was determined to take action for the purpose of helping African Americans to make progress.

Gates (1994) says that he was excited about learning and his going to college was a decision that he never questioned. Gates cites an experience at Potomac State College that led him to focus on the study of literature instead of becoming a doctor like he had dreamed of as a child. As he tells the story, Gates purposefully chose to take a course with a professor who had a reputation for being a "great and inspiring" teacher. He says, "learning English and American literature from the Duke was a game to which I looked forward every day. I had always loved English and had been blessed with some dedicated and able teachers. But reading books was something I had always thought of as a pastime, certainly not as a vocation. The Duke made the study of literature an alluring prospect". He cites an incident of shouting out a wrong answer in class that nurtured his risk taking ability and bolstered his confidence. According to Gates, when the teacher realized that he was bluffing the answer, the teacher "rewarded his audacity" (p.193).

Leadership Reigns

Bromery (personal communication, April 19, 1999) views higher education as "the road to success". In describing the importance of higher education to African Americans, Bromery makes a connection between higher education and leadership development. He explains that higher education for African Americans is essential because it is a vehicle for social change through preparation of a "talented tenth" that can lead African Americans to liberation. To elucidate the concept of the talented tenth and issues of identity, Bromery refers to the great debate between DuBois and Washington. He says,

> I happen to be a subscriber to higher education as the road to success. Remember, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois had this great debate because Washington said we

> must stage our acceptance in the United States. I disagreed with Washington because I cannot allow White people's acceptance of me to define me. It is not as important to me whether you accept me or not, it is important that you respect me. W.E.B. DuBois was criticized as an elitist because he talked about the concept of the talented tenth, however, he was not referring to the talented tenth in the context of being an elitist. As I've said many times when I have given talks, if you look at the ancient Greeks, Aristotle, Socrates, and Descartes and the few other Greek geniuses, your perception of ancient Greece was that it was a society of brilliant people. The truth is that millions of Greeks in ancient Greece were not brilliant and the most we can name is five scholars. All DuBois was saying is that when we refer to African Americans, we need our talented tenth, our Aristotle, Socrates, Descartes to define us. Until we are characterized by our talented tenth scholars, instead of how many of our race are in prisons, then we will never achieve parity with other races in our society. We must be recognized and characterized by our many geniuses.

African Americans who have experienced higher education and have received credentials in the form of degrees have indeed been recognized as leaders, and they have been expected to serve the interests of African Americans. As reported, HBCUs are especially known for their success in producing leaders. Yet, many African American college graduates have resisted being identified as a leader per se. As an African American scholar and an activist, I certainly feel responsible to my ancestors who came before me and to the future generations of people who will come after me. Because I am a college graduate, I have gained access to many professional positions that have provided me with the power and opportunity to serve as a leader, but I am one who has never really viewed myself as a leader. Several years ago, I was both bewildered and honored when a group of high school students chose me to be a part of a panel of community leaders whom they expected advice from about the roles and responsibilities of leaders in the African American community. I remember thinking, my vocation is as a scholar and teacher. What did they mean by asking me to represent myself as a leader? This particular experience forced me to search my mind and heart to gain more perspective about leadership. It also

provided momentum for me to delve deeper into the literature and to speak purposefully with others about their conceptions of leadership.

Wade-Gayles (1993) offers great detail about her activism with CORE and says, "we organized, strategized, and demonstrated during the entire school year". Yet, she claims that "I was never a leader in the movement" (pp. 141, 147) . Likewise, DuBois (1968) shuns the label of leader when he stated that "in 1905 I was still a teacher at Atlanta University and was in my imagination a scientist, and neither a leader nor an agitator" (236). Senge (1990) says that, "leaders are designers, teachers and stewards. These roles require new skills: the ability to build shared vision, to bring to the surface and challenge prevailing mental models, and to foster more systemic patterns of thinking" (p. 9). Bohlman and Deal (1991) point out that the root meaning of leader is to "lead people on a journey" (p. 404). They offer that the most common definitions of leaders are to get others to do what they want. In the final analysis, they say that leadership is relational and contextual. The idea of the talented tenth has always been controversial because it raises questions about African American college graduates' commitment to the struggle for justice and questions about their identity in relation to the larger African American community.

Crummell (1992) is credited with the original use of the term talented tenth to refer to college educated African Americans who have a responsibility to be leaders. He asks,

> Who are to be the agents to lift up this people of ours to the grand plane of civilization? Who are to bring them up to the height of noble thought, grand civility, a chaste and elevating culture, refinement, and the impulses of irrepressible progress? It is to be done by the scholars and thinkers, who have secured the vision which penetrates the center of nature, and sweeps the circles of historic enlightenment; and who have got insight into the life of things, and learned the art by which men touch the springs of action. For to transform and stimulate the souls of a race of people is a work of intelligence (p. 287).

The reluctance of some African American scholars to label themselves as leaders can be seen as a desire to maintain a connection with the masses, including their families, and not to set themselves apart. There is a historical basis for this caution. Malcolm X highlighted the forced separation of African Americans from each other based on their respective roles in American society when he spoke about "house Negroes" and "field Negroes". A college education is sometimes perceived by others (and sometimes by scholars themselves) as something that places people over and above the "common" person. Being a college graduate signifies that you have had a privileged opportunity that has typically been available to less than 10 percent of the African American population. If you are regarded as one of the talented tenth, then it is also assumed that as a college graduate you know not only how to live in the midst of African American culture, but you have also proven that you know how to survive in the larger environment which often demands that you set aside your African "ness".

DuBois (1905) describes the "twoness" that can develop as a result of being an African American who has to function in both worlds when he says, "it is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness--an American, a negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (p. 45). Strickland (1974), who like DuBois is a Harvard graduate, intimates in an autobiographical sketch that many of the African Americans who attended Harvard in the 1950s and 1960s regarded themselves as "specially gifted and specifically chosen". Intellect was the dividing line instead of color. He describes the reality of the identity crises that can result from "twoness" when he says "we were young and innocent but we were confident of our future and confident of Harvard as a guarantor of that future. So we ambled into the yard, onto America's most legendary campus, not realizing that Harvard, for many of us, was to be the crucible in

which our black consciousness was to come to life, not ever dreaming that, forced to choose between the conceptions Harvard offered and those our lives and people said were true, we would be compelled to come to grips with the question of who we were and who or what was America" (p. v).

Cross' identity model includes a stage of "internalization" and Asante's model includes a step of "personality awareness" and each moves to a level related to self-actualization. When a scholar is confronted with "twoness", some significant and difficult choices have to be made in terms of which self will become actualized or integrated. These decisions are internalized in ways that clearly shape one's personality and actions. While the decisions are often made at a subconscious level, each person develops a view of himself or herself as well as a view about how he or she wants to be regarded to others. Bromery's grandmother equipped him with a clear view of himself by insisting that he look closely at himself in the mirror and consciously decide who he was so that others could not and would not decide for him. Other scholars used their accomplishments to define their views of self, including using instances when they "proved" to themselves and others that they could accomplish the same thing as whites--and sometimes even better. The quest to prove himself worthy in academia appeared to be a driving force for DuBois. Being successful at Fisk was not enough. He had to tackle Harvard so that he and others would be clear about the breadth and depth of his excellence. My own identity has been greatly influenced by my status as a college graduate. Because of my degree from an elite women's school, I have viewed myself as capable of meeting life's challenges and others have also viewed me this way. I am always amused when someone--especially a White person--exclaims in amazement--"you went to Smith!" I am usually afforded good treatment and the benefit of the doubt for this accomplishment. There is some satisfaction in knowing that you are just as good (and sometimes better than) people with white skin who are held in such high esteem.

On the other hand, there is also the dilemma about how you see yourself in relationship to other African Americans and how they see you. Wade-Gayles (1993) describes with great humor and appropriate seriousness her struggle with the way that she chose to wear her hair. More than a beauty decision, Wade-Gayles says, "in their own way, my family taught me racial pride that would eventually find expression in an Afro. That explains why no one in my family ever doubted that I would become one of those militants they were reading about in the newspaper. And why I was at home in the movement before it ever began" (p. 139). Symbolically, she goes on to say that, "straightened hair became a weight pulling my head down when I wanted to hold it up. High". "An activist with straightened hair was a contradiction" (p. 157).

Gates (1994) relates that when he attended an all white summer camp, the riots in Watts in the mid-1960s forced him to call into question his identity in relationship to other African Americans. He intimates that, "watching myself being watched by all the white campers, I experienced that strange combination of power and powerlessness that you feel when the actions of another black person affect your life, simply because you both are black" (p. 150). Gates entitled his autobiography Colored People--A Memoir, and while he clearly describes his family and community background with pride, he also seems to struggle with wanting others to view him as a person--and not a Black person. He writes about "resentment at being lumped together with thirty million African Americans whom you don't know and most of whom you will never know" (p. xiii). Although he strives to promote African American history and culture, Gates seems reticent about his identity as revealed in his longings to escape being Black.

My own struggle with my African "ness" has been centered around a way to hold on tight to what it means to be Black in America. I have worn my racial pride and my indignation as Wade-Gayles describes it--like a badge. I hold on to my African American heritage as a way to pay homage to my ancestors and to claim the birthright of the children yet to be born. I have resented the times when I have been asked or forced to give

up the experience of being Black and all that goes with it because I feel that people are devaluing me by asking me to give up a great part of who I am. I watch as some people--both Black and White--cringe when I say that I majored in Afro-American studies in college. I could not possibly be a "serious" scholar with such a major. And I laugh that nervous Black laugh that Bromery spoke about when people tell me that I think too much about racism. I realize that the mention of racism sets me apart and casts dispersions on my ability "to let go of the past and assimilate". Actually, I prefer Peters (1992) suggestion that African Americans be viewed as "omni-Americans" because my experience embraces and transcends so much more than my African "ness". Anyway, I am clear that my strong identity as an African American/Omni-American--a child of the living God--is really what keeps my head above the water so that I will not drown in the sea of racism.

hooks (1996) entitled her autobiography, Bone Black--Memories of Girlhood and she explains the meaning of the concept when she says, "my soul is dark like the inner world of the cave--bone black. I have been drowning in that blackness. Like quicksand it sucks me in and keeps me there in the space of all my pain. I never say out loud that I could die in this space of loneliness, of outsiderness. I never say out loud I want to kill myself--go away from all this. I never tell anyone how much I want to belong" (p. 181). Much of hooks' scholarship is related to reconciling her identity as an African American *and* a woman; she too seems to struggle with being African American. I fully understand that the desire to be accepted on the merits of just being human can be strong and pierce the depths of our souls. They key though is that African Americans have to accept themselves along with the meanings that are attached to being Black and then transcend it. Transcendence is an especially important concept for African American women, because beyond racism, African American women also struggle with sexism and the resultant affronts to their humanity. This "double jeopardy" has been a thread throughout the lives of African American women. With seeds of racism and sexism sown into the lived experiences of African American women, an abiding faith in education became a way out.

Giddings (1984) explains that "the means of oppression differed across race and sex lines, but the wellspring of that oppression was the same. Black women understood this dynamic" (p. 6). Black women, in particular, have used education as a means of survival and a tool for breaking through the chains of oppression. Giddings emphasizes this point by saying "Black women have a history of striving for education beyond what their color seemed to prescribe" (p. 7). If you were an African American woman pursuing formal education, then you most certainly expected to be a teacher. Cooper, who struggled with her woman "ness", is known as a teacher and feminist who advocated for recognition of the virtues of women.

In a published statement entitled, The Higher Education of Women (1890-1891), Cooper celebrates the influence that higher education has on women. She writes, "now I claim that it is the prevalence of the Higher Education among women, the making it a common everyday affair for women to reason and think and express their thought, the training and stimulus which will enable and encourage women to administer to the world the bread it needs as well as the sugar it cries for; in short it is the transmitting the potential forces of her soul into dynamic factors that has given symmetry and completeness to the world's agencies" (Lemert & Bhan, 1998, p.76). Wade-Gayles (1993) says that her studies of nineteenth-century black women's history in college caused her to reflect on her upbringing and to strengthen her integrity as a woman *and* an African American. Attending a women's college contributed to my own sense of myself because before me each and every day was a cadre of women who were capable and inspiring. At Smith College, my identity as a woman was affirmed and my identity as an African American evolved into activism. I still struggle with my identity as an American.

The fact that African Americans face dilemmas about their identity can be easily understood given their circumstances. The influence of higher education on the identity of African Americans is very much related to their ascribed role as leaders and their collective responsibility for being the talented tenth who could lead the race to freedom. However,

the leadership of African American scholars has often been called into question. In describing the characteristics of "educated" African Americans in relationship to their leadership accomplishments, Woodson (1933) said, "no systematic effort toward change has been possible, for taught the same economics, history, philosophy, literature and religion which have established the present code of morals, the Negro's mind has been brought under control of his oppressor. The problem of holding the Negro down, therefore, is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions" (p. xiii). Others have assessed the leadership role that college graduates have played and have lamented about the seemingly slow and conservative pace of their actions. Some have questioned the commitment of college graduates to the "uplift" of the race. Crummell (1992), who is considered to be a nationalist leader, said, "leaders you must have. But don't put up with any but righteous and race-devoted men!" (p. 250).

Observing the role that Black college graduates, particularly teachers and preachers, played during this time, DuBois (1903) commented that "with all their larger vision and deeper sensibility, these men have usually been conservative, careful leaders. They have seldom been agitators, have withstood the temptation to head the mob, and have worked steadily and faithfully in a thousand communities in the South" (p. 63). Bond (1934) also observed the conservative nature of college graduates by saying that "it is an interesting fact that Negro college graduates and students are probably the most conservative representatives of their types in America, where economic, political, and religious issues are concerned. There have been frequent complaints that the collegiate education of Negroes takes them away from their natural orientation with the masses of their race" (p. 148). Despite questions of identity and effectiveness, African American college graduates have made some significant accomplishments and in varied ways, higher education has influenced their identities as scholars and their actions as leaders.

DuBois (1968) summarizes the role and responsibility of the scholar-activist well and compares the scholar's role to other leaders when he explains his own motivations and

intentions for scholarship. He says, "it was my theory to guide and force public opinion by leadership. While my leadership was a matter of writing and teaching, the Washington leadership became a matter of organization and money" (p. 237). Lemert and Bhan (1998) say that Cooper "pursued a strategy of racial uplift close to that of DuBois's Talented Tenth principle. Cooper was a brilliant teacher and an effective school leader" (p. 9). Crummell (1992) asserts that "the ordinary, and sometimes extraordinary American is unable to see that the struggle of a degraded people for elevation is, in its very nature, a warfare, and that its main weapon is the cultivated and scientific mind" (p. 294). Personal and social transformation are possible through scholarship.

Scholarship for Social Change

Crummell's and DuBois' belief in the Talented Tenth was centered around the idea that African Americans could become equal citizens by training the intellect and unleashing the spirit of African Americans so they could take their place alongside White people in the country. In their view, the cadre of African Americans that were being trained in colleges and universities would become leaders who could reason together with whites, press for the right to vote, devise strategies for the uplift of the race, organize the masses for progressive activities and be regarded for their intellect and who then, having proven the humanity and worth of African Americans, could enjoy equal citizenship (DuBois, 1903; DuBois, 1940). Given this conception of the talented tenth, going to college was not just a privilege, but also a responsibility that required conscientious study and committed action.

Through the lived experiences of the scholar-activists and their roles in relation to higher education, I was able to identify ways that they have served as models for transformational leadership. A scholar-activist in the context of this study then is viewed as a transformational leader who is able to change the condition, character or function of people, organizations, communities and institutions. Social change in this context is

defined as actions and results that move society from one place to another. Social change is a real variation of the status quo. It is a descriptor for the movement that people make in their quest to live together (or apart). Social change involves ideology and politics. It embraces action and depends on results. Social change is decision-making, leadership and followership. It can be for better or for worse. Social change is a choice. It is created by our action and reactions. Social change is like education--its purpose is to lead us out. Scholarship is a way out and it involves not only "book learning" but also knowledge of self that can be gained by reflection, meditation and action. Sekayi's (1997) criteria for an intellectual includes someone who has had formal schooling and has been awarded advanced degrees. Her definition of intellectual also requires that people "continue to engage in scholarly pursuits after and outside of formal schooling" (p. 12). Sekayi concluded that the "essence of African-American Intellectual-Activism" is a positive self-concept, a defined life purpose with goals to uplift African Americans and action toward those goals (p. 118).

When my Uncle Alton went to college he said that he did not spend much time socializing. Instead he preferred to stay in his room and study. He told me a story about when my grandparents brought him a car to Tougaloo College so he could get around, but he said he never once drove it anywhere. My uncle saw himself as having a single purpose and that was on excelling as a scholar so that he could be in a position to teach others. He said "I believe that developing your potential requires challenge and practice. If you don't practice, then you won't win. You have to have high expectations and the discipline to persevere. If you don't believe in yourself and know what your life goals are, then you've lost before you even started". My Uncle Alton proudly showed me an article that he had written for a publication at the local paper where my grandfather worked. He said the article led to funding for a new social studies program in the public schools. Many of my other relatives made remarks about how "smart" and "studious" my uncle has always been. They credited my uncle's college studies with elevating him to be a recognized leader in

the local schools. One of my other uncles boasted about how, even though he's now retired, my uncle is in great demand by educators in Mississippi who want to learn from him (personal communication, October 3, 1999).

Palmer (1983) says that within education there is a "hidden wholeness" that is "rooted in a spiritual understanding" of the world. He explains that there are "four issues basic to the life of the mind: the nature of reality (ontology), how we know reality (epistemology), how we teach and learn (pedagogy), and how education forms or deforms our lives (ethics)" (p. xiii). African Americans' sense of reality, use of holistic pedagogy and ethical considerations have been noted. In addition, African Americans have a particular view of epistemology that allows for study beyond the life of the mind. While developing the intellect has been a central focus for most African American scholars, the spirit of scholarship has also prevailed. Crummell (1992) says the race, in the brief period of a generation, has been so "fruitful in intellectual product, that the time has come for a coalescence of powers, and for reciprocity alike in effort and appreciation" (p. 289).

Through the discipline of academic skills including reading, writing, critical thinking, speaking and teaching, African American scholars have sorted through the morass of race, sharpened their minds and contributed to many different subject areas, including a growing body of knowledge about African Americans and American democracy. Other than myself, none of the scholars "majored" in African American studies. Gates, hooks and Wade-Gayles studied English and women's studies; Crummell studied theology; DuBois and my Uncle Alton studied history; Bromery studied Mathematics and Geology; Simmons studied languages; Cooper studied languages and mathematics; Terrell Hill studied business and education; and my son Kamari studied physical education. Almost everyone studied through a liberal arts curriculum. Thus, African American scholar-activists have also relied on their spirits as well as their intellects to be creative and expansive in their thinking and doing. Essentially, they have been able to

tap into the "hidden wholeness" that Palmer identifies, regardless of the formal subjects that they have studied.

Discovering and holding onto the truth and spirit in the context of higher education does not come easy for most people, if at all. hooks (1994) contends that,

> If we examine critically the traditional role of the university in the pursuit of truth and the sharing of knowledge and information, it is painfully clear that biases that uphold and maintain white supremacy, imperialism, sexism, and racism have distorted education so that it is no longer about the practice of freedom. The call for a recognition of cultural diversity, a rethinking of ways of knowing, a deconstruction of old epistemologies, and the concomitant demand that there be a transformation in our classrooms, in how we teach and what we teach, has been a necessary revolution--one that seeks to restore life to a corrupt and dying academy (p. 30).

Making the point that higher education has emphasized a singular focus on developing the intellect, Wade-Gayles (1993) says that "unfortunately, in America, becoming educated means worshipping that which is rational and minimizing that which is spiritual" (p. 247). She revels in the stories and songs that she shared with her own children to teach them knowledge about life, and she suggests that if her adult children compared the truth in "volumes written by reputable scholars with credentials" with the knowledge that she passed on to them, they would be missing something. She urges us to beware of "scholars with credentials, but without rememberings" (p. 275). Wade-Gayles is clear about her motivations and her approach to scholarship and teaching for social change. She says,

> Although I am 'mixed,' as all African-Americans are (we *do* have 'some Indian blood' and white blood in our veins), I choose to identify genetically and culturally with women and men who were stolen from African centuries ago. America is my home. I was born here, I live here, and like so many who have gone before me, I will

> die here, but Africa is my motherland. By choice, I have chosen to teach at historically black colleges for over twenty years because I believe they must survive, or we will not survive. Teaching there has been my way of contributing to their struggle for survival which, until the millennium comes, is my people's survival as well. I study and research with passion, African American history, literature, and culture and regardless of the title of the course, I make our contributions central (p. 184).

As someone who used his mind and also stayed in touch with the spirit, DuBois (1906) points to the essence of scholarship when he says, "now I have said that in order to match the great demands of this age we need to throw off our indolence and use and develop every power that God had given us, and that higher education is a method of developing these powers" (p. 37) V. P. Franklin (1995) cites DuBois' use of autobiography to develop his knowledge of self and his resultant influence on research methodologies when he says, "DuBois from his early intellectual career introduced autobiographical elements into his examination of larger social, political, or cultural issues facing the African American population. Eschewing the position of detached scholar in many of his works, DuBois offered his personal feelings, emotions, and responses to the topics under discussion" (p. 226). DuBois helped to create a tradition and a style of scholarship for social change involving African Americans. Boynton (1995) observes that "among the most striking characteristics one notices in the work of many black intellectuals is how much is written in a deeply personal style, a style usually eschewed by academics". He names a number of African American scholars who he says, explore "what the literary theorist Houston Baker calls 'the autobiographical moment'" (p. 62).

While DuBois' three autobiographies offer some information about his personal life, the thrust of his writing is about the context and construct of race. Reading DuBois' works offers one a history lesson, an economic analysis, a social and cultural treatise and an artistic presentation all woven through his life story. DuBois uses poetry and the words

of songs frequently to make his points. He also includes a significant amount of statistical data to define the scope of his observations and conclusions. On June 11, 1999, I wrote in my journal that "I do find DuBois to be a phenomenal character that embodies the best of America". I believe that my own research design was subtly influenced by DuBois because he used such a wide range of documents including his own letters and speeches to tell his story. He also wrote freely and poetically of his inner longings and regarded himself as a scholar on a mission to save humanity from itself.

It is clear from the scholarship and activism of the African Americans that I studied, that they have come to know themselves and the world in many different ways. Almost all of the scholars spoke about their thirst for knowledge and their love of books. hooks (1996) writes, "they tell us children should be happy, should love to go outside and play. I would rather read books. There have always been books in our house even when we were very young" (p. 76). Gates (1994) writes about a minister who gave him "all kinds of books" and "seemed to offer an intellectual framework to go with my spirituality". Gates reveals that he "wanted to learn how to be a free negro and to be a man, how to be in the world and with God, how to question values and tradition without being kicked out of the fold, how to value community and order, family and the group, yet not to have to suppress my uncertainties, doubts, ambivalences in order to be accepted". He reports that he learned some of these things through books, but also through gospel music, popular music, the movies and dance (p. 145). The number of books published, articles written, speeches delivered, courses taught, programs developed and students mentored by the scholar-activists is great. They have brought the truth to light and their myriad accomplishments reach as far as the depths of the roots of racism.

In a recent New York Times article (1999), Simmons was described as the "Jackie Robinson of higher education" because of her pioneering role as an African American president at my alma mater--Smith College--a "top-tier college". Simmons, who won a Danforth Fellowship and a Fulbright Fellowship for graduate study at Harvard University,

reported that she enjoyed traveling to different places and learning about different cultures. She said, "I focused on language because I wanted to understand better how culture and geography can affect one's psychological make-up. One thing that was profoundly helpful to me was that I was a voracious reader because there were so few options. Library books were free and reading opened up a world beyond my immediate experiences". As a result of her experiences with higher education, Simmons traveled to many parts of America, Europe and Mexico (personal communication, April 7, 1999).

As a pioneer, Simmons is in the media's spotlight and her accomplishments are indeed quite impressive. The New York Times took notice of Simmons' activism when she "stepped out of the ivory tower to recruit at urban public schools like Hamilton, a rarity for a college president." In a relatively short period of time, she has helped to increase the college's endowment, establish the first engineering program at a woman's college, institute a curriculum-wide focus on public speaking, provide paid internships for every undergraduate and sponsor a national conference on race (October 9, 1999). When I was serving on an alumni committee focused on multiculturalism at Smith, Simmons explained her philosophy and position related to a proposal to establish separate housing for African Americans and others on campus. In my view from the margin, students needed housing space that could serve as a refuge for them when the larger environment was not affirming. Simmons expanded my view when she adamantly declared that African Americans must "claim the center". Her words were few, but they were meaningful and inspirational. In effect, she was saying that there is no need for African Americans to remain in the margins or on the sidelines. Our ancestors sacrificed for us to *know* that the center is where we belong and that we must be *wise* enough to claim it.

Bromery puts the importance of scholarship for social change into perspective when he asserts that "you can't really do well creating successful opportunities for other people unless you can do that for yourself. You have to be in a position to leverage opportunity". I was fascinated when Bromery told me the story about how the Committee

for the Collegiate Education of Blacks (CCEBs) was established at the University of Massachusetts in 1968. As one of six African American faculty out of a total of about fifteen hundred faculty members, Bromery joined with others to complete research, mobilize funding, recruit students and create a program to increase the number of African American students at UMass. Bromery says,

> We were amazed that there were so few African American students on campus so we went out and spent several months on a census. We found out that there were 37 African American students on an undergraduate campus of 18-19,000 students. We had no political clout since we were only 6 Black faculty members. We went to the Ford Foundation who committed one million dollars to our program and we formed a non-profit 501(c)3 organization and opened up a corporate account. We told the university we would pay them to educate African American students and they agreed. Five of us went out to recruit the first class. We went to Boston, Freedom House, churches, Springfield, community agencies and many other places. We ended up putting together a class of 128 students that we selected for the Fall 1968. Well, in the summer, we went in with these 128 students and the Dean of Students at the university called us and told us they could only accept 6 of them. So we went to the Dean of Admissions and told him that if he wouldn't accept the class that we had carefully selected, then the University would not have any Black faculty because we intended to resign. I remember that we went to the Dean of Students office and I was designated as the spokesperson. I told the Dean of Students that I have the resignations of all of the Black faculty. We will go to the Boston Globe, the New York Times and any other media outlet if you do not take our students. (personal communication, April 19, 1999)

After a discussion with the Dean of Admissions and the President, the 128 African Americans students were accepted into the university and Bromery and other scholar-activists created a network of support for the students. He said. "we guaranteed that they would graduate at least the same rate as the other students". Bromery later became Chancellor of the university and when he presided over his first commencement in May 1972, more than 68 of the students graduated. He said that after further research "we

realized that class represented more African American students than had graduated in total from UMass since its founding in 1863. We weren't doing it for UMass. We did it because we found out that the vast majority of students who graduated from UMass stayed and worked in the state and if we could graduate African Americans, then we could form an African American leadership group in Massachusetts."

As a leader within higher education, Bromery took initiative in many other ways to advance the progress of African Americans and others. He served as president of several other state institutions of higher education and helped to turn around poor financial situations and public relations problems. Bromery was instrumental in having the DuBois papers located at UMass and the library named after DuBois More recently, while serving as president of Springfield College, Bromery used higher education in an innovative way to expand an adult education program serving a large population of African Americans and others from three campus sites to eight sites located in seven different states. He has also been in the news for his generosity in establishing financial support for African American students who want to study the sciences. Bromery says that his father used to say "don't tell people when you're going to cross the street and don't look back. Keep moving. Even if you dream--your dream should be forward movement because if you don't, something's going to catch up with you and whatever it is you don't want it" (personal communication, April 19, 1999).

Both Simmons and Bromery said that African American scholars in leadership positions within higher education, including administration, have some unique qualities and challenges to make a difference. Bromery says that "there are probably 3 or 4 more generations in this country that are going to have to not only make a living for themselves and their families, but they're going to have to make a contribution to opening some doors and making change. I believe that we have an obligation--we as Black people have an even greater obligation to use what you've got--use the system". Simmons brings focus to both personal and social transformation when she says "I tend to see the importance of doing

this work first as having the capacity to influence individual lives to a certain extent--that is the most important thing we do. An individual can come to college and by force of the interactions they have and the impact of the ideas they encounter, their lives can be changed and directed in very positive ways. That is the power of what we do. I always think about this job at the micro-level--that is where it's most meaningful. At the same time, if one multiplies that to a college of our size where we graduate about 700 students a year let's say over a ten year period of time--the fact that you have 7,000 people, very high achievers that you have had a chance to speak to and you've influenced the choices that they may make in their lives--it may be possible to have more impact than that but I can't imagine what it is (personal communication, April 12, 1999).

The Christian Bible says, to whom much is given, much is expected. Most people expect college graduates who have been given the privilege of "higher" education, to have answers, to know the truth and to lead the way. Cooper and Crummell each write eloquently about their perspectives on democracy and African American scholarship and activism. As the elder scholar-activists in this study, they have the last word on scholarship for social change. Crummell (1992) admonishes African Americans to remember that "we are American citizens; and living and acting in the land we must for the necessity of life and action contribute somewhat to its life and character. We must be doing either good or evil. Such a thing as the neutral influence of men, in the state, is an impossibility" (p. 241). As reported by Lemert and Bhan (1998), Cooper concludes that,

> When we have been sized up and written down by others, we need not feel that the last word is said and the oracles sealed. 'It's nuffin but a man'. And there are many gifts the giftie may give us, far better than seeing ourselves as others see us-and one is that of Bion's maxim 'Know Thyself'. Keep true to your own ideals. Be not ashamed of what is homely and your own. Speak out and speak with honesty. Be true to yourself and to the message God and nature meant you to deliver. With this platform to stand on we can with clear eye weigh what is written and estimate what is done and

> ourselves paint what is true with the calm spirit of those who know their cause is right and who believe there is a God who judgeth the nations (pp. 159-160).

In due season, we will reap what we have sown, if we do not lose heart.

Five Critical Dimensions of Teaching and Transformation

Drucker (1989) says that leadership is an art. Leaders will have self-knowledge and wisdom. They must be able to practice and apply leadership and, to be effective, they will have to draw on psychology, philosophy, economics, history and ethics. Teaching and learning to develop leaders must then be interdisciplinary in nature. Teacher education programs within higher education can really be viewed as leadership education. Chrislip and Larson (1994) suggest that a leader's primary task is "to create a constituency for change that can reach implementable agreements on problems and issues of shared concern, not to impose specific solutions that they themselves have defined. When they accomplish that task--and only then--will real, sustainable results be achieved" (p. 73). The vocation of a teacher is to develop the human resources of the nation through education. These descriptions of leadership articulate perfectly the challenge of teachers today--no matter what educational arena they have chosen to plant themselves in.

Crenshaw et al. (1993) emphasize that "knowledge and politics are inevitably intertwined" (p. xxii). So in many ways, the greatest part of racism exists in our minds, policies and practices. Our ideologies, doctrines, judgments, norms, ideals, slogans and symbols are all impregnated with certain values. Coming at race from legal, political, psychological, economic, sociological, and structural standpoints to achieve social change requires critical thinking with heart and mind. Cole (1993) says "liberation is not an event, but a process--a process I firmly believe will largely depend on another process called education" (p. 160). Moses (1992) reports that Crummell asked the question, what is the

"true end of letters and learning?" He answered this question by saying, "why the object we have in view is the education of youth, i.e. the development of hidden powers, the cultivation of unseen latent qualities" (p. 251). DuBois (1906) said that "for education is by derivation and in fact the drawing out of human powers" (p. 29). When we turn on a light, we say that "the power is on". When someone is identified as brilliant, it means that they have been able to use their combined powers (mind, body and spirit) to let their "little light shine". They have gained knowledge, developed understanding and gotten wisdom. They have, in effect, mastered many ways of knowing.

Teaching and learning for transformation are different but they are closely tied together. The "what" we teach and the "how" we teach create learning experiences and environments that either help or hinder people. The how we teach must be as much a part of the dialogue as what we teach. Worldviews and culture greatly influence our approach to the development of the interdependent relationships necessary for effective teaching and learning. An effective teacher must be able to help learners understand how to learn and how to find the teachers within themselves. The role of a teacher is to facilitate learning experiences that allow students to think critically, to liberate their spirits and to initiate action. Effective teachers can motivate and inspire students. These teachers are leaders who have a full range of communications skills and they are able to respectfully draw upon cultural differences to reveal and honor the common bonds of humanity. Effective teachers practice these transformative skills in their own lives and strive to "teach" these skills to students.

Effective teaching is similar to parenting because the goal is to nurture the potential of people and to support them in their growth. Knowing about what to teach and how to teach requires talents, gifts and skills and it demands a lot of integrity. hooks (1994) says that "teaching that enables transgressions" is teaching that "moves against and beyond boundaries" (p. 12). Teaching that enables transformation is teaching that embraces five critical dimensions of education which are to 1) speak to the spirit; 2) affirm

identity; 3) recount history; 4) understand realities and 5) plan for the future. These critical dimensions come together and are activated through the power of curriculum. Curriculum gives expression to decisions about what to teach and how to teach. Curriculum is a context for the five dimensions of teaching and transformation.

Roberts (1975) defines curriculum as "any organized set of principles for thinking about curriculum definition, curriculum development, or curricular practices" (p. 35). In a summary of models for curriculum designs, she presents the theories of seven curriculum theorists (Bobbitt; Tyler; Taba; Goodlad; Friere; Scwab; and Walker) who offer various schemas to delineate and describe the curriculum planning process. As explained by Roberts, Walker begins from a platform that includes theories, aims, conceptions and images. Friere begins curriculum design with oppression and the cultural realities of the learners. Scwab begins by sifting through the learner, teacher, milieu and subject matter to define educational problems. Bobbitt, Tyler, Goodlad and Taba place an emphasis on using data to determine behavioral objectives to guide the teaching and learning process. Most of the ideas for curriculum design include consideration for educational aims, some element of deliberation and ways to determine if progress is being made. Friere has an explicit focus on consciousness, cultural realities, commitment and the transformational process that occurs through commitment and action.

With knowledgeable and dedicated teachers, we can use education to move our society forward by making progress toward social and economic justice. Through dialogue, analysis, deliberation and decisions about the purpose of education, learning objectives, experiences and evaluations can be developed and organized in ways that will bring about transformative results in individuals, institutions and communities. When teaching for transformation, collaboration and commitment must be on-going. Teachers must be people who are genuinely open-minded, willing to cultivate knowledge and capable of merging ideas for the benefit of progress. The five critical dimensions of teaching and learning developed as a result of lived experiences draw upon various

theories of curriculum design to create an eclectic design process that is inclusive and comprehensive. In fact, the active dimensions represent the understanding, knowledge and wisdom of many people and are a result of action research aimed at transformation. Curriculum design based on transformation begins from the bottom up but also requires action from the top down. It begins from the inside and works toward the outside. The dimensions of teaching and transformation are both internal and external. They are seeds that can be sown to reap a rich harvest for change and growth.

Given African Americans' distinct American experience, their rich African culture and as Lewter and Cooper (1986) call it, their "soul theology", many African American scholar-activists have used the power of "higher" education to develop, as Peters (1992) calls it, their "spiritual-intellect". Some African Americans may not have deemed it so or termed it this way, but by believing that God is *the* "higher" power, Jesus is a friend and a savior and the Holy Spirit is a guide to lead us into all truth, African Americans have been able to use education for the purposes of transformation. In particular, when it comes to spiritual development and education for social change, African Americans have excelled as human beings. The five dimensions of teaching and transformation that are identified in this study were clearly informed and inspired by African American culture and countless educators, friends and fellow country men and women. By drawing on the cultural components of African American traditions and using curriculum as a force for the teaching and learning process, the what and how to teach can be defined as interdependent variables that can serve as catalysts for change. Some of the ideas incorporated in this model for curriculum development arose from a community organizing program that I helped to organize for the National Urban League (NUL) in the mid-1990s.

The cadre of dedicated people who worked closely with me on the curriculum design for the NUL's executive directors offered me an exemplary experience that demonstrated what can happen when you let the spirit lead, collaborate with goodwill and commit to action. The most prominent lesson that we learned from our collective

experience is that the great things of humanity are not necessarily what one sees, but what God directs. Oftentimes, we rely upon the feedback of others to define the importance and effectiveness of our initiatives. In actuality, the great things in life are those that emanate from the contents of a pure heart, or are born from pure motives. Those actions that are truly great may, in fact, be those which no one sees, other than the Creator. Therefore, the true "measuring stick" rests not in the hands of humanity, but in the heart of humanity as we perceive God's pleasure with our efforts and His favor upon our lives. You have to be discerning and have faith that God's will shall be done here on earth as it is in heaven. When you invoke the spirit, people aspire to achieve the best of humanity and we make progress toward justice. This is the legacy of African Americans who teach to transform.

These five critical dimensions of teaching and transformation are offered as a conceptualization of ways that we can actively engage the latent physical, spiritual and intellectual potentials of people for the purpose of generating ideas, elevating understanding and taking action that leads to effective and continuous human, organizational and community transformation. The dimensions represent elements of both process *and* product. While presented as a linear progression, the sequential steps involving the design are interdependent and cumulative. The constructivist and experiential nature of the five dimensions allows for unlimited creativity, flexibility and relevancy in terms of the learning objectives and types of educational activities that can be offered to facilitate teaching and learning.

The dimensions as presented here are articulated as elements of curriculum, however, they are equally applicable and useful to research, community organizing, and organizational development efforts. Evaluation to determine the efficacy and results of the teaching and learning process is incorporated in the curriculum design in such a way that the teacher, learner, institution and community have opportunities to determine and measure performance standards. Table 5 lists the critical dimensions in terms of the what

to teach and the how to teach. Explanations about the why, who, and where to teach are included in the detailed discussion of each of the five dimensions.

Table 5. Five critical dimensions of teaching and transformation

What to Teach	How to Teach	Potential Learning Activities
1. Speak to the Spirit	Clarify mission	Music, poetry, oratory, drama
2. Affirm Identity	Create an environment	Celebrate strengths & exemplars
3. Recount History	Honor ancestors	Describe struggle, articulate values
4. Understand Reality	Examine context for action	Analyze root causes, shortcomings
5. Plan for the Future	Develop a shared vision	Strategize, act on goals, evaluate

Embedded in the description of these five critical dimensions of teaching and transformation as presented here are several broad assumptions about the nature of human, organizational and community growth. These assumptions are:

> 1) If people have an opportunity to draw on their spiritual values and articulate their purpose, strengths and connections within a context, then they will have a strong sense of identity, a shared vision and a commitment to action. With liberated spirits, people will have fertile minds and hearts to invest in the teaching and learning process.
>
> 2) When people dialogue and think critically about history, their appreciation for the indomitable spirit, resourcefulness and inheritance of ancestors from many different generations are enhanced. By recounting history, we will also be able to identify salient patterns and better understand the status of people in the context of social, political, economic and cultural realities. This part of the teaching and learning process reinforces and facilitates interdisciplinary learning not just for the learner, but for everyone involved in the process.
>
> 3) If people have a forum for collectively generating curriculum ideas and initiating

plans, then successful growth and development will occur for individuals, groups, organizations and communities.

The value of these integrative dimensions of curriculum design rest in the inherent relevancy and adaptability to many types of people, ideas and educational programs. These dimensions seek to move beyond conditioned responses and to stimulate people to create, to sow and to nurture the kinds of seeds that will reap a good and bountiful harvest for future generations.

An African proverb reminds us that "knowledge is like a garden, if it is not cultivated, it cannot be harvested". The theme that runs through the five dimensions of teaching and transformation, "reaping what we sow", can be explained in terms of three phases--seedtime, planting and harvest. During the seedtime phase, consideration is given to the spirits of the people involved and the institution that is responsible for the enterprise of teaching and learning. A purposeful focus on the spiritual dimension of the teaching and learning process serves as the soil (or foundation or platform) for the development of people, organizations and community. The teacher is the sower whose knowledge, attitudes, skills and competencies all serve as enabling factors for the learners. In the seedtime phase, the spirit serves as a strong guiding force that underlies scholarship and action. Palmer (1983) says that "authentic spirituality wants to open us to truth--whatever truth may be, wherever truth may take us. Such spirituality does not dictate where we must go, but trusts that any path walked with integrity will take us to a place of knowledge" (p. xi).

The spirit is where the roots of education grow from, therefore, speaking to the spirit is incorporated as the first dimension. By beginning the teaching and learning process with an exploration and articulation of educational philosophy, people speak to the spirit as they are forced to relate to each other at a heart to heart level and confront their value systems to examine their purpose. Tyler (1949, 1969) says that "in essence the

statement of philosophy attempts to define the nature of a good society" (p. 34). The institution's mission must be clearly defined so that everyone involved (teachers, administrators, learners, parents, community) will act to achieve the mission. As Tyler (1949, 1969) suggests, the basic question that must be addressed is whether people are being educated to fit into the system or to change the system. Teaching to transgress and to transform require different viewpoints and actions than teaching for conformity. These matters must be brought to consciousness and a commitment to change or to the status quo should be explicit. The first dimension, speaking to the spirit, begins the process and inspires the learners to reach for their highest aspirations. Learning activities that can be designed to touch the spirit include music, poetry, storytelling, reflection, oratory, visual imagery, dance and drama.

The second dimension of teaching and transformation is to affirm identity. Affirmation occurs during the planting phase as the teacher (sower) assesses the environment and creates conditions that will allow for growth. Daffodils planted in the desert will not grow because it is not an appropriate environment for them. The environment is not affirming. Cactus planted in the desert will grow because the environment contains the right nutrients to support their development. In the second dimension, the teacher (sower) is responsible for the care and nurturance of the learner. A conscious focus on the atmosphere is required. Is it polluted or clean? Are the sounds, messages and images culturally affirming and positively motivating? Is there hope or despair? Oppression or liberation? Are the learners energetic or lethargic? Farmers sometimes encounter dry periods, diseases that attack the crops, natural disasters like floods and insects. So too can teachers (sowers) face similar hindrances as they care for and nurture the learners. If learners (or teachers) experience dis-eases of the soul such as pessimism, racism or apathy, they can be counteracted with love, hope, courage, faith and action. Collective and individual strengths should be identified and celebrated.

The physical environment also contributes to the atmosphere. A journal entry that I made when I visited Smith College gives insight into how the physical environment can speak to the spirit and affirm identity. On March 17, 1999, I wrote,

> At Smith today I walked around. It was 61 degrees in March--last week we had a snowstorm. When I'm on campus at Smith, I feel like royalty--like I'm one of the chosen ones--someone who has entry into the halls of the upper crust of society--I'm a certified Negro with rights and privileges that come to me because I am a Smith College graduate. The buildings are solid and ornate. The grounds are well kept and the atmosphere is inviting. The resources are abundant. Access is mine.

Dilapidated, crowded and defaced buildings and grounds speak volumes too. The maintenance and decor of facilities and physical spaces, especially the classroom, can make a difference. Overall, the environmental assessment gives the teacher (sower) an indication of what kinds of fertilizers (affirmations) might be helpful to change the environment so that learners can blossom and grow. The power of mere words of encouragement spoken in a timely manner cannot be underestimated. Nor can we discount the power of an inspirational speaker, a film or a field trip to stir up the hearts and minds of the learner, to clarify purpose and to prepare them to receive knowledge, understanding and wisdom. Ancestral pride and mentoring relationships can also meet the needs of the learners for affirmation. The body can be engaged by providing for things such as nutrition, exercise, breathing, and a range of other activities in the pursuit of knowledge. Learning activities that affirm identity and motivate students include celebrating strengths, gifts and talents; acknowledging cultural traditions, highlighting the accomplishments of exemplars and involving elders, families and community in the teaching and learning process.

The third dimension of teaching and transformation is to recount history. There is a rhythm over time as educators, learners, institutions and communities all exist within a

historical, cultural, social, economic and political context. Woodson (1933) reminds us that "real education inspires people to live more abundantly, to learn to begin with life as they find it and make it better" (p. 29). Still in the planting phase, the role of the teacher (sower) is to enlist the participation of the learner and others in identifying critical incidents in history that teach us lessons about life. No matter what the subject or content area, there is a living history that should be known by the learners. Peters (1991) observes that students are not generally learning about history. He says, "many are beginning to make a lot of simple-minded proposals about change which are going to lead them to a tragic fate. The reason that they need to know history is so that they can learn that they need to be sophisticated in developing their strategies" (p 104).

Reflection, diagnosis, dialogue and collaboration should be incorporated into this dimension of teaching and transformation. By reviewing history, the learners can enhance their appreciation for the indomitable spirit, resourcefulness and inheritance of ancestors over many generations. To stimulate the senses and to cultivate knowledge, both work and play are needed. The intellect should be challenged with academic exercises involving reading, writing, problem-solving, research, debate and critical thinking. Learning activities should involve honoring ancestors, acknowledging the cultural context on a personal, community, national and international basis; articulating values and assumptions and sharing information and perspectives.

The fourth dimension is to understand reality. Through an examination of the historical contexts, learners should be prepared to understand the nature of their present day realities whatever they may be. When something is "real" it is known to be true, to be actual and genuine. Palmer (1983) says that knowing reality is not a solitary or objective act. "The true work of the mind is to reconnect us with that which would otherwise be out of reach, to reweave the great community of our lives" (p xvi). Once again, relationship and collaboration are stressed as the teacher (sower) plants seeds of understanding and helps learners to cultivate knowledge. Knowledge of self, including one's own personal

history and shortcomings, is important to accepting self and others. gywnelle (1995) emphasizes that "acceptance is an essential action for transformation" (p. 26).

For teachers (sowers), learners and others, understanding reality means acceptance of race as a social construct and African Americans as whole persons worthy of privilege, rights and respect. Peters (1991) explains that "the African American lineage is complex in its totality, representing nearly every part of the earth in one person or another. So the African American is not and never has been simply an outsider in this country. That's just a rhetorical figure really which is used to call attention to specific aspects of our plight. In truth, the African American has been the outsider-insider, and still is that"(p. 15). "Part of the learning to be masters of ourselves and of our destiny is in learning to be masters of adversity. That's the reality" (p. 72). On December 10, 1998, I raised this question in my journal--"Is it possible to know love, joy, honesty and peace in this life instead of hate, despair, distortions and war. I believe it is and I won't settle for less--we need to keep it real". Learning activities for this dimension include identifying root causes, acknowledging our shortcomings, emphasizing our collective destiny, considering stages of development and building bridges.

The fifth dimension of teaching and transformation is to plan for the future. In this dimension, the turning point is identified and the final preparation for the harvest is made. Planning involves providing people with a forum for generating ideas and taking initiative. In the fifth dimension it is especially critical that teachers and learners use information gained by exercising the mind and nurturing the spirit to make informed choices about action. Planning for the future is also a communal act in teaching for transformation. The development of strategies for action includes collective analysis and experience. Peters (1991) contends that "generations always need discipline, skills, and a sense of responsibility so that they can not only take advantage of new opportunities but so that they can become shrewd enough to learn how to *create* opportunities" (p.94). Just as history was shaped by determined people and concerted action, the future can be too.

Learning activities include building on strengths, developing a shared vision, articulating goals, outlining tasks, timetables and responsibilities, identifying performance standards, using organizational resources, evaluating performance and recycling lessons learned.

With spiritual seeds that have been sown on good ground, affirmed identities, knowledge of history and plans for the future, the harvest is imminent. As its name implies, the harvest phase allows you to measure the success of your efforts by the yield. Some learners might take longer to grow and mature than others. The teacher (sower) must anticipate this and build continuous evaluation into the process of teaching and learning. As in other dimensions, evaluation is a joint responsibility involving the learner, the educator, the institution and the community. There are many ways to evaluate whether the desired crop has been harvested. From interviews to self-assessments to surveys to tests to observations, data collected can be relevant for decision making. It is also important to remember that evidence of success may not be immediate or manifest. However, through evaluation people should be able to identify turning points and action steps needed for continued growth. Finally, the importance of rest for the teachers (sowers) and learners cannot be overemphasized. Just as farmers rest during the winter season, so too must the teacher and learners plan time to reflect and re-energize themselves.

Taken together, these five dimensions of teaching and transformation in the context of reaping what we sow, are focused on raising consciousness and bringing people together for comprehensive and concentrated learning, planning and action. The process and product are similar to action research and strategic planning, but teaching to transform requires us to operate on more than the intellectual, physical and material levels. On December 12, 1998, I wrote in my journal, "it's ok that African Americans focus on education--we have much to give to the enterprise of teaching and learning. Studying the lives of African Americans led me to the knowledge that the spirit must be invoked and involved for transformation to occur". Teaching to transform is multi-dimensional and it is

hard work, but the potential rewards are endless. If we can educate teachers as leaders in holistic ways to understand the connections between mind, body and spirit, then we can help people to actualize the e-quality of life. To reap a rich harvest, people must be honest and humble in spirit; caring and courageous in relationships; proactive and productive in planning; and wise and willful in initiating action. Above all, people must let go, and let God. Time will tell whether "higher" education in America can meet the challenges of teaching to transform.

CHAPTER 4

TELLING OUR STORIES, SINGING OUR SONGS

Qualitative Research as a Transformative Process

The Bible admonishes us to "be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind" (Romans 12:2). As King (1963) asserts, transformation demands non-conformity. It also requires courage and creativity. I believe in the value of informed, conscious decision making for the purpose of making social change. In my view, research helps us to renew our minds by making meaning of our complex world and all that is contained within it. We must have information and knowledge--not just for the sake of having it, but for the purpose of using knowledge and the meaning that is generated through it to move us through transformation and toward justice so that we can actualize the best of humanity--and not the worst. Research itself is worthy of research because we must be able to understand the meaning and attend to the details of how we manage research as an enterprise involving human interaction and the search for truth.

This qualitative research project put me in touch with myself, others, information and my environment. Moustakas (1990) says that, heuristic research "involves self-search, self-dialogue, and self-discovery: the research question and the methodology flow out of inner awareness, meaning and inspiration" (p.11). In terms of research paradigms, I have found qualitative research to be an opportunity for human development and social action. From my perspective, qualitative research allows for a humanistic approach to knowing--epistemology. Through qualitative research methodology, both the unfolding process and the results can serve as avenues for self-expression, human interaction, change and growth. Life can be lived as a conscious journey through qualitative research. According to Moustakas (1990),

> The heuristic research process is not one that can be hurried or timed by the clock or calendar. It demands the total presence, honesty, maturity, and integrity of a researcher who not only strongly desires to know and understand but is willing to commit to endless hours of sustained immersion and focused concentration on one central question, to risk the opening of wounds and passionate concerns, and to undergo the personal transformation that exists as a possibility in every heuristic journey (p. 14).

This research study has resulted in a process and a product that have furthered my own development, and I expect the personal journey to continue past the submission of this dissertation. Thorne (1979) illuminates the nature of the life changing interactions involved with qualitative research and explains the subjective role of the researcher when she says, "personal changes are not just private realities, publicly confessed; they lie behind, and help shape, the directions of research" (p. 24). Marshall and Rossman (1995) say that "in qualitative inquiry, initial questions for research often come from real world observations, dilemmas, and questions and have emerged from the interplay of the researcher's direct experience, tacit theories, and growing scholarly interests" (p. 16). My research questions clearly emanate from my present vocation as a scholar and community activist and my identity as an African American woman. The next steps in my research journey will be guided by my interests in curriculum development and teacher education.

One of the assumptions inherent in the research project that I designed is the idea that personal experiences of the researcher matter and can be the subject of the research itself. That is, all data and meaning are not outside of the researcher who is usually expected to just gather data from others and play an interpretive role. As I researcher, I actually placed my own experience at the center of the research and generated phases of the study around my interests and need to know and to do. This study also assumes that the experiences of the researcher alone are insufficient for understanding the researcher's own experiences and questions. As a researcher I needed more than my own lens on the

subject. The power that comes from collaboration was an important part of the process and content. My cultural heritage and the pilot study that I conducted convinced me that the lived experiences of people are rich resources for gaining understanding, knowledge and wisdom.

On October 12, 1998, I wrote in my journal that, "collaboration with others made me think, forced me to listen and broadened my perspective. People are also surrounding me with encouragement and inspiration". My family, friends and colleagues watched me move through the process and their high hopes for the results were motivating forces. When my beloved Grandma Bea had a stroke in the midst of my writing process, I wanted to run to North Carolina and care for her soul. But I did not have to worry because my mother and her siblings, knowing the love that I have for my grandmother, updated me daily on her progress and assured me that fulfilling my duty to complete my dissertation would please my grandmother more. I did take the time to send my grandmother some socks to warm her feet in remembrance of the quilt that she made years earlier to warm my heart. I was also nurtured by roses that my husband gave me on a cold winter day and my sons' encouragement to persevere to the end. My friends prayed. All of these interactions and more served as stimulus for my research activities and balm to my soul.

On the continuum of research philosophies, phenomenological, feminist, and afrocentric research methodologies allowed me to tailor this seemingly eclectic research design to fit my interests and to honor my personhood. Allender (1991) states that within the scientific study of human experience there are changing patterns within both the traditional quantitative and qualitative research genres. For example, he cites action research as a widely applicable form of research that allows for iterative organizational and community change. He also suggests that more humanistic research methods (which is how autobiography might be classified) are probably outside of the existent educational research field. Allender positions humanistic research as a method that leads to "personal growth and improved personal connections for everyone" (p. 14). He characterizes four

underlying worldviews of research in a theoretical model that he displays on a continuum of thinking, sensing, intuition, and feeling (p. 15). This continuum is represented in a linear fashion in Table 6.

Table 6. Allender's four underlying worldviews of research.

Quantitative	Analytic Scientist	Search for Truth
Qualitative	Conceptual Theorist	Search for Meaning
Action	Conceptual Humanist	Search for Change
Humanistic	Particular Humanist	Search for Connection

In terms of Allender's framework, I view myself as a humanist researcher who wishes to touch all of the research orientations described because, as he suggests, each point on the continuum leads to a different kind of knowledge. As a researcher I was not necessarily fixated on any points along the continuum. Instead, I was able to draw on a range of research methodologies to develop my understanding of African Americans, scholar-activists, teaching and higher education. Research, in this sense, might be classified as "post modern" because it is never static but it is dynamic and always contextual. Underlying my approach to this study was a respect for the value of human interaction, a focus on deriving meaning from lived experiences and an orientation to the need for purposeful social action.

During the oral narratives, I explained the purpose of my research and asked each participant an initial question about their life experience. The questions asked of each

participant were different and they were designed to generate a conversation about my research study in relationship to the person's life. When reading my reflections about the process in my journal, listening to the tapes and reading the interview transcripts, I noticed that the questions asked of each participant were similar in that they elicited stories, rather than facts, about the person's life. The questions were framed using phrases such as 'tell me about what happened when'..., 'describe to me how you felt about'..., 'tell me why you decided to'..... The nature of the questions allowed the participants to determine what information they wanted to share and the points that they wanted to make. My comments during the conversations were limited as the participants told absorbing stories that revealed information about the varied aspects of their lives.

Cotterill and Letherby (1993) contend that "the narrative technique allows respondents to 'tell the story' in whichever way they choose and, more importantly, validates the individual experience and provides a vehicle through which this experience can be expressed to a wider audience" (p.74). In this way, the research was a collaborative enterprise as both myself as the researcher and the selected scholar-activists could be viewed as research participants who were actively shaping the direction and potential results of the study. Wimberly (1994) makes the point that Christian education for African Americans has relied heavily on the use of Bible stories to teach lessons about life and culture. She says that "a vital Christian education for liberation and vocation is one that offers a process that has at its center our lived stories" (p. 32). Storytelling as part of qualitative research is then, an opportunity for human development and social action because the process and the results serve as an avenues for expression, meaningful human interactions, exponential growth and sustained change.

Hertz (1996) offers Callway's definition of reflexivity which states that reflexivity is "a continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness. Reflexivity, then is ubiquitous. It permeates every aspect of the research process challenging us to be more fully conscious of the ideology, culture and politics of those we study and those we select

as our audience" (p. 5). Qualitative research (and the reflexivity required) was an empowering experience for me because I learned more about my family and my community and they learned more about me. Our connections have been strengthened and deepened. The conversations that occurred and the stories that were told forced me to reflect on the meanings and they gave prominence to some of the issues that were studied in more detail through the literature review. The field observations were nostalgic and provided some important visceral data for the study. This study actually allowed me to find solace by placing my own experiences within a larger context of the African American experience in higher education and in relationship to others who have traveled some of the same paths. Through an inductive process involving knowledge about the lives of myself and others, I have been able to draw some conclusions about teaching and higher education as vehicles for transformation.

Creswell (1994) emphasizes that "researchers use the scholarly literature in a study to present results of similar studies, to relate the present study to the ongoing dialogue in the literature, and to provide a framework for comparing results of a study with other studies" (p. 37). Although the literature review conducted as part of this study was comprehensive and instructive, there is so much more to learn from other existing and emerging scholarship. Therefore, it is far from exhaustive. The more I discovered, the deeper I fell into the literature review. It was truly expansive. Commenting on the purpose of literature reviews, Strauss and Corbin (1990) contend that "since discovery is our purpose, we do not have beforehand knowledge of all the categories relevant to our theory" (p. 50). Through the literature review, I discovered several theories that helped me to relate what I was learning about higher education to what I was learning about teaching and transformation. As I learned more about the historical and cultural context of the study, I was better able to derive meaning from the personal lives of the people that were participants in the study. Whenever the narrative involved with one scholar-activist intersected with the narrative of another, as it often did, I felt that I was making some

important connections between the lives of the scholar-activists, my own life and the evolution of the world. Reading can be considered to be a solitary activity, but in reading about the life experiences of others I never felt that I was alone.

Qualitative research methodology also gave me license to go beyond the written word and to use oral stories, film, photographs and existential experiences as a part of the data to be analyzed for developing an understanding about the research questions. Since the methodological mix that I used brought data from multiple sources to bear on the inquiry, a degree of triangulation was contained in the research to enhance the generalizability of the study (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). As a result of the extent and wealth of the data generated, the study was entangled with an intellectual effort involving what Geertz (1973) calls "thick description". As you might imagine, the lives of twelve people, numerous observations and an expansive literature review produced some rich and abundant data for consideration. When I reviewed, analyzed and synthesized the data, I was constantly seeking to balance the need for "academic rigor and convention" with my desire to have literary license, spiritual guidance and freedom of expression.

It was challenging to move between the conventions of research methodologies, the standards and rules for APA style, the University of Massachusetts' Guide for Dissertations, the Christian Bible, African American folklore and my own desire for genuine self expression. My goal was to produce a study of the highest quality. As it turns out, things came together instinctively as a synthesis of many experiences and interactions with people, places and information. The lessons learned emerged naturally and were in harmony with the heart of the qualitative research process. I attribute my ability to live "a life of the mind" to the academic skills that I have acquired as a college graduate. The discipline involved with academic study gave me the ability to make inquiries and to develop insight into what it means to analyze, synthesize and draw conclusions form data. When you study, there is a point when your mind "clicks" and makes connections. Therefore, academic study clearly offers us opportunities to engage in open-minded

inquiry, discipline the mind, improve organizational skills, analyze data, derive meaning from lived experiences, and promote creativity through human processing.

For me, the academic enterprise also involved a spiritual dimension that was nurtured by music and other art forms. On June 4, 1999, I wrote in my journal "your soul can be satisfied through Black cultural expressions--poetry, art and music. I couldn't go on with this research project without satisfying my soul". Singing and dancing through music allowed me to experience a certain kind of freedom. The films that I watched were instrumental in bringing to life the historical struggle of African Americans. Visual imagery and sound are powerful. Engaging all of the senses can be an effective way to approach research. The physical aspects of research were important too. I found that I had to pay particular attention to my physical needs being careful to get the proper nutrition, rest and exercise. While it seems that these things are needful for life everyday, during the research process I had to focus on these aspects of my being because the research was so absorbing and required so much energy. This was especially true in the analysis and writing phases when my level of concentration seemed to be highest. Writing as a process and product demanded that I gather, synthesis and articulate the meaning that developed through the research. What a challenge!

The physical space for my research was also a consideration. I enjoyed reading on planes and trains--especially when I was reading about the many places that scholars had traveled. When I read about Crummell's service as a minister at a church in Washington, D.C., I was breezing by Washington on a train headed for Delaware. I wrote in my journal on January 18, 1999,

> I read about Crummell on the train this past weekend coming from business meetings in Wilmington. It was exhilarating to read about his ideologies, beliefs and actions. As I gazed out of the windows, I reflected on Crummell's life and realized that he used travel to position himself in places where he could have access to people and knowledge. Going to New Hampshire and being

> rebuffed because of race, going to England to study for credentials and raise money and going to Delaware to be ordained, were all ways of putting scholarship into action.

Because planes and trains were contained with few distractions, they were good places for reading and reflection. Once, when the train sat still on the tracks for two hours because of an ice storm, I thought and recorded in my journal that, "where there's a will, there's a way--me in an ice storm, Crummell in a lifetime". I also had to set up a space in my home for the writing process. I positioned my computer near a window and a stereo system so I could see and hear beyond the computer screen--although the computer really did become one of my best friends!

In terms of the sequence of the research process, the reflexive and iterative nature of qualitative research allowed me to execute and accomplish various phases of the research design in parallel fashion. The research activities that I was engaged in at any one time flowed naturally from the momentum that was established and built as the process evolved. The members of my dissertation committee offered me countless words of wisdom and challenged me to be a multi-dimensional researcher who can "search" not only for information, but also for relevance and meaning. Dr. Strickland even offered me a published autobiographical sketch of his personal experiences as a student-activist at Harvard. This information proved to be invaluable when I made some interpretations about DuBois' life as a student at Harvard and the duality that African Americans face when confronted by racism. All of the unanticipated sources of data that were included in this study are a result of the way that the qualitative research process allowed me to be collaborative and to embrace life in the moment. The entire qualitative research process, including the proposal development, data collection, analysis, synthesis, writing and presentation forced me to think critically and to act responsibly. Research as scholarship in this sense has been a cathartic, even a transformative experience!

Autobiography as a Research Tool

Living life on earth with all of its social, political, economic, psychological, spiritual, intellectual, physical and emotional dimensions is multifaceted, complicated and challenging. It was Socrates who said that "the unexamined life is not worth living". Telling our stories requires reflection, relationship building and transformation. Through this research process I was able to learn some things about myself in relation to learning about the lives of others. For instance, on June 24, 1999, I wrote in my journal, "reading about DuBois' refusal to lead prayer reminds me of how difficult it is for many scholars to deal with religious contradictions and to maintain a sense of their own spirituality in the academy where only the mind is valued". From this experience I sought out a friend who calls herself a "minister of dramatic presentations" and she helped me to put some things about my own spiritual believes into perspective. Burgess (1984) reminds us that "formal and informal research activities become intertwined and emerge during the research process" (p. 264).

The personal lives of others can clearly inform and inspire us. Writing one's autobiography is generally acknowledged as a process of self-discovery with inspirational value, literary significance and historical relevance. However, autobiography is not usually regarded as a "reliable" and "valid" research tool. Mykhalovskiy (1996) reports that within the field of sociology, autobiography has, at times, been censured and disregarded by naming it as a research process that involves self-indulgence, narcissism and self-absorption. Although, Allender (1991) does suggest that, in the scientific study of human experience, there are changing patterns within both the traditional quantitative and qualitative research genres. He positions autobiography as humanistic research and as a method that leads to "personal growth and improved personal connections for everyone" (p. 14).

Swindells (1995) says that autobiography is "now being put to such a wide range of different purposes and uses" (p. 6). She cites the extensive use of autobiography in

literary, historical, psychological and sociological contexts but she says that it has limited use in educational circles where autobiography has been invented and promoted as a part of a "child centered philosophy in an attempt to utilize personal testimony to give value to each individual experience" (p. 9). Swindells urges us to move beyond the use of autobiography in educational research to judge an individual's life and to use it for broader social purposes. She explains that "however much autobiography is supposed to be about personal life, the 'personal' nearly always stands for something additional to itself" (p. 9).

Through this research study, I easily reached the same conclusion as Swindells and others who say that autobiography is about more than the self. On November 19, 1998, I wrote in my journal, "By reading the autobiographies, I've learned that Black people don't think they're "self" made--they see themselves as being shaped and molded by God, family, and community". This view of autobiography, which reaches beyond the individual, suggests that autobiography can be a research tool for people who are interested in seeking guidance about the direction for their life in relation to the world. Lejeune (1989) says that "to begin to write your autobiography is to invert the relationship that you ordinarily have with your life. It is to become again, imaginary, the master" (p. 230). He further states that there are three general strategies that people use when writing autobiographies (p. 224-230). These strategies are summarized below:

Status quo:	Doesn't call someone's life into question; just increases its value by expressing it
Deconstruction	Helps someone to find solutions to difficulties; always involves reconstruction of a more viable individual
Stabilization	A combination of the preceding two attitudes; seeks to free the individual and offers wisdom

Almost all of the scholar-activists in the study clearly chose to write as a stabilization strategy, although in some ways Gates' autobiography can be viewed as status quo because he seems to tell his story for the purpose of distinguishing himself as someone who has moved beyond his racial identity to become, more than anything else, a member of the community of scholars. His written memoir celebrates his heritage but he does not deconstruct his identity to the extent that Crummell, DuBois, Cooper, hooks and Wade-Gayles do. My perspective of Gates' work was confirmed when I watched a film entitled, "The Two Nations of Black America", as shown on Frontline, a production of the Public Broadcasting System (PBS). In the film, Gates narrates a story about his life and discusses class issues within the African American community, including a visit to his hometown and interviews with some prominent African American scholar-activists. In the beginning of the film, Gates is shown walking by some homeless African American males who are sitting on a street corner. He says, "everyday on my way to work, I walk right past them. We exchange pleasantries--we even know each others' names, but the worlds we live in are miles apart. I'm a professor at Harvard". He said that he discovered there are "two degrees of separation" from him and Tupac Shakur, a celebrated rap singer. At the end of the film, Gates concedes that he is more comfortable with his identity in the ivory tower than on the streets with other African Americans who have not been granted the same privileges that he has enjoyed.

The other authors generally used their autobiographies to make connections to the larger historical, social, economic and political context, not for the purpose of distinguishing and distancing themselves, but for the purpose of strengthening their identities as Africans *and* Americans. While class issues were evident in all of the stories that the scholar-activists told, most of them did not view class as a stringent dividing line. They discussed class issues in terms of their responsibility to maintain connections with other African Americans and to understand how they could personally contribute to the kind of social transformation that could eliminate racism and inequalities. They were

clearly seeking stabilization. DuBois' autobiographies, in particular, included knowledge, understanding and wisdom about a range of issues including economics, politics, psychology, religion, and education. Marcus (1995) says that "current work in the field of autobiography is pushing towards an interdisciplinary synthesis" (p. 16). In these ways, autobiography as a research tool can be both informative and transformative.

Andrews (1993) chronicles the literary and historical significance of African American autobiography. Andrews and other scholars who have studied African American autobiographies have concluded that African Americans have explicitly used autobiographies as tools for social change (Butterfield, 1974; Braxton, 1989; Gates, 1991). Swindells (1995) notes the difference between the autobiographies of "great men" and members of oppressed groups by stating that,

> whereas Western European educated man can both speak for his ideological environment and be seen to represent it, women, black people and working-class people, because of their political position, are not placed to conceal the tensions between consciousness and the social world. Speaking from any kind of subordinate position in the culture reveals a contested and often highly embattled relationship between the two (p. 4).

Autobiographies written by African Americans clearly serve to shine a light on the contradictions inherent in American democracy as well as the positive and negative impacts of capitalism, American-style, on the well being of humanity. When W.E.B. DuBois chose to write three autobiographies (1920, 1940, 1963), it could have been because he lived such a long and prosperous life and he wanted recognition for his accomplishments. But DuBois does not use his autobiographies to expose the intimate details of his life or to celebrate his success. While one can clearly learn about DuBois as a person and his thoughts and feelings about the life that he led, the overarching lessons in his autobiographies are in his examination and analysis of the contradictions between

racism and the democratic ideals of America and in the way that he claims and affirms the humanity of African Americans. (V.P. Franklin, 1995; Stone, 1993). Gates, on the other hand, seemed to be writing a "great man" autobiography as most of his book focuses on the intimate details of his life and his prowess in rising to what he sees as the top levels of society.

Moustakas (1990) suggests that "whatever the effect, the heuristic process requires a return to the self, a recognition of self-awareness, and a valuing of one's own experience" (p. 13). hooks (1996) says that through memory "we look back as if we are standing at a distance. Examining life retrospectively we are there and not there, watching and watched". She describes her written memoirs as "an autobiography of perceptions and ideas. The events described are always less significant than the impressions they leave on the mind and heart" (pp. xiv-xv). In writing my own autobiography, I was able to stand at a distance, document and analyze my experiences within higher education. Writing the autobiographical sketches helped me to discover how higher education has shaped my faith in education and my active search for genuine social change. I deliberately wanted to focus on my life because it is something that is familiar to me, yet in many ways it has gone unexamined. The personal stories that I wrote about as well as the stories that I heard about and read about, all highlighted some of the pertinent issues surrounding higher education especially issues of race, culture, spirit, teaching, policy and power.

African Americans have clearly developed their own cultural traditions as they relate to autobiography, research and scholarship. From slave narratives to present day memoirs, African Americans have connected the personal with the collective. Gates (1991) says that African Americans "published their individual histories in astonishing numbers, in a larger attempt to narrate the collective history of 'the race'" (p. 4). Stone (1993) says that DuBois' work among others has helped to define the nature of black autobiography which in the last forty-odd years has "helped to define, mirror, criticize, and create wider and wider areas of black life and culture" (p. 171). From the autobiographies

that I read, I was able to place the critical incidents of the scholar-activists lives, as well as my own life, in the context of America's evolution and the need for social change. Braxton (1989) explains that "like the blues, most autobiographies by black Americans, male and female, tend to have a dominant internal strategy of action rather than contemplation" (p.5).

Another distinguishing feature of African American autobiography is the voice that is used to explore issues. V.P. Franklin (1995) points out that DuBois' writing is "sometimes fictive, sometimes scientific and analytical, but always poetic" (p. 230). bell hooks (1996) says that, when she decided to write her autobiography, she had to find a way of making sense of her experiences. She characterizes her autobiography as "truth and myth--as poetic witness". hooks says that autobiographical description can be fluid because "the events described are always less significant than the impressions they leave on the mind and heart" (p. xiv-xv). Indeed, hooks' styles of expression and the content of the stories about her childhood are poetic and informative. The writing styles of the various other authors were as different as their life experiences. The accounts and opinions that Crummell and Cooper wrote were "thick" and lyrical. Gates' and Wade-Gayles' books were more "down to earth" and conversational. hooks wrote mystically using a third person voice and DuBois' writing was factual, poetic and comprehensive. Lejeune (1989) points out that "the richness of the autobiographical genre is due to the fact that, following the example of fictional genre, it can be nourished by everything: poetry, theoretical reflection--and the novel itself" (p. 229). The potential for creativity using autobiography as a research tool seems endless!

None of the autobiographies that I read were just chronological histories of the person's life. Instead they were colorful, descriptive, enlightening stories about extended family, the meaning of community and the racially tinged legacy of American democracy. When I asked Ruth Simmons if she would write her autobiography one day, she said that she has had others who are interested in writing a biography about her, but she is more

interested in writing about herself when she gets the time because she wants to represent her life in such a way that it can be used to teach others. Her response highlights the value of "letting our little lights shine" by telling one's own story and it reminds me of another familiar saying in the African American community which is "Let my work speak for me". Simmons said that "people want to know why I developed the way I did, why I did the things I did and made the choices I made and invariably, people not only want to understand that but they want to write about it themselves. But I think it's my obligation to reflect on it and to better understand it myself " (personal communication, April 14, 1999). Simmons' motivations to write her autobiography include helping others to understand and do something about issues of class. Therefore, her interest in helping to deconstruct attitudes about poverty and to produce wisdom for action can be viewed as a stabilization intent, as defined by Lejeune.

Randolph Bromery said that he, too, would like to write about his life someday. But Bromery says his approach will be to weave his life experience with fictive accounts so that he can honestly portray his life experiences in a way that will protect the identities of people that might be hurt or judged as a result of him telling his story. Bromery's approach points out the dilemmas of being in relationship with others because the stories that we tell are never just about ourselves. Bromery said that he would divide his life into three periods, each representing about twenty years to discuss the dilemmas posed by his experiences with childhood, being a geologist in government service and serving as a leader in higher education (personal communication, April 14, 1999). Like Simmons, Bromery's response indicated that his motivation for writing his autobiography was for stabilization purposes. In effect, his literary approach would be similar to hooks, who primarily wrote in the third person. The flexibility involved with the styles of writing for autobiography is one of the reasons that autobiography can be such an effective educational research tool.

Although the scholar-activists who purposefully wrote their autobiographies have surely themselves been informed by it, they have definitely moved outside of the convention of Western autobiography to create their own forms of scholarship using autobiography as a tool. Gates (1991) says that "the curse that the scholar of Western culture bears, then, is the presence of an enshrined cultural memory, one that can confine and delimit just as surely as it preserves continuity and enables the extension of tradition" (p. 5). He says that despite the enormous interest in Black Studies in the 1960s, African American scholars still bear the curse of the "*absence* of a printed, catalogued, collective cultural memory" (p. 5). Gates concludes that the field of African American autobiography is especially rich and that "these stories endure as chronicles not merely of personal achievement, but of the impulse to *bear witness*" (italics by author, p. 9). Swindells (1995) reiterates this point by saying that,

> autobiography is now often the mode that people turn to when they want their voice to be heard, when they speak for themselves, and sometimes politically for others. Auto-biography now has the potential to be the text of the oppressed and the culturally displaced, forging a right to speak for and beyond the individual. Certain experiences, particularly those associated with systematic oppression, have not been recorded, or have been represented partially, in stereotype or with flagrant bias. In this context, autobiography can appear the most direct and accessible way of countering silence and misrepresentation (p. 7).

V.P. Franklin (1995) distinguishes African American autobiography from other autobiographies by stating that "many African American intellectuals and leaders turned to the autobiographical form primarily for ideological and political purposes" (p. 12). He explains that "African American intellectuals' ideological commitments were not based on faith or ideals alone, but were reinforced and solidified by their personal experiences. Thus autobiography served as a personal tapestry upon which they wove those events and movements that shaped their personal beliefs and identity" (p. 16). To analyze and present

the findings from this study, I found that the best method for understanding the meaning of the scholar-activists' experiences was to weave the critical incidents that they wrote about in their lives into the narrative describing the larger contexts of higher education, African American culture and American society. This approach of "weaving" the research findings throughout the report not only allowed me to see the patterns in the tapestry, but also to recognize the continuous cultural strands and to give honor to the ancestors who produced such a vibrant and rich tradition of teaching and transformation.

Moustaskas (1990) says that,

> essentially, in the heuristic process, I am creating a story that portrays the qualities, meanings and essences of universally unique experiences. Through an unwavering and steady inward gaze and inner freedom to explore and accept what is, I am reaching into deeper and deeper regions of a human problem or experience and coming to know and understand its underlying dynamics and constituents more and more fully. The initial data is within me; the challenge is to discover and explicate its nature (p. 13).

Lejeune (1989) admonishes us that "autobiography is a human right. Become the owner of your life!" (p. 224). Teachers and researchers can use autobiography to help people develop their knowledge of self, others and the world we live in. For example, in a recent presentation that I made to some young teenage girls in a youth detention center, I asked them if they wrote their autobiographies, what would they say and what would the title would be. Their response was telling as they struggled to understand what about their lived experience produced the most meaning for them. Several of the girls said that the question made them think not so much about the past, but about their future and how they might *create* their lives. By focusing the youth on autobiography as a research tool, they began to imagine what they could be and do in life. The same questions can be raised to older students. In the tradition of African American autobiography, knowledge of self is

essential for action. I suggested that these young people keep a journal so that they could raise their consciousness about themselves and others and then to take action to create and recreate their realities and futures. Through this study, I have concluded that there are infinite ways to include autobiography in the research, teaching and learning processes.

The Alchemy of Afrocentricity, Feminist Theory and Critical Pedagogy

Covey (1995) claims that in "choosing our response to circumstance, we powerfully affect our circumstance. When we change one part of the chemical formula, we change the nature of the results" (p. 53). The methodological mix that I used in response to my own circumstances was enlightening. In ancient times, alchemy was the chemistry that sought to change baser elements into gold. Similarly, the chemistry of afrocentricity, feminist theory and critical pedagogy can be used to change data into valuable information that can inform and inspire action. As a concept and as a term, Afrocentricity has generated a significant amount of controversy because of its focus on African Americans as a race of people with its own characteristics and history (Asante, 1988; Meyers, 1993). While the term has been used in some divisive ways, I find that it offers me an opportunity to acknowledge and place race as an important part of my identity into a philosophy and practice for academic research.

When we view the experiences of African Americans, it is necessary to look beyond the humanistic realm into the spiritual realm. As documented, African Americans have developed a transcendent way of being human. African Americans have also developed a keen sense and an ability to discern the intricacies and complexities of life through critical thinking. Surviving slavery meant that you had to be able to find joy and peace in the midst of degradation and sorrow. It meant that you had to have faith that there is a Spirit that will deliver us from bondage. While African American culture sought to provide people with this cultural armor, schools today generally do not teach resiliency or promote spiritual growth. Meyers (1993) says that our system of formal education

seems to contribute to the problem of negative thinking about African Americans by teaching people what to think as opposed to how to think. She says "questioning with a sincere desire to know and understand is basic to the process of growth" (p. 9). Afrocentricity allows for self-knowledge and embraces the spirit.

Feminist theory also provides the researcher with a framework for inquiry that allows for self-knowledge and flexibility. As a woman, I drew on feminist theory as an approach and incorporated some of the elements of feminist research into the design. According to DeVault (1993), studies show that "feminism provides not a method, but a 'perspective' on the conduct of research". She suggests that feminist theory involves listening, critical thinking, relationship building and the production of knowledge that is useful for action. Intuitive knowledge is valued as a part of the research process. DeVault also acknowledges that while "the label 'feminist research' does identify a distinctive approach to the investigation of social life and organization", feminism is evolving and African American women are helping to shape the discourse (p. 83).

Indeed there are some common frameworks between feminist and African American perspectives of research. Kingman (1997) suggests that feminist research is appealing to African American researchers because it includes a "non-hierarchical, participatory research approach in which the context of the surrounding phenomena is acknowledged and studied and the impact of the researcher's values and emotions on the research process is acknowledged" (p. 251). She further analyzes feminist research to uncover some of the similarities that it has with traditional approaches used within African American culture to produce and transmit knowledge and to initiate action. In a recent quantitative study, Kingman surveyed 450 randomly selected full, doctoral-level psychologists who responded to questions about their choices of research genre and methodology. As a result of the study, she concluded that the African American psychologists valued more socially conscious research approaches than did their European American counterparts--even European American women. Kingman says the results "cast

doubt on the theory that a more relational or participatory approach to knowledge is uniquely feminine" (p. 258).

A real strength of both feminist research and afrocentricity is that they do open the door for researchers to validate the subjective information and wisdom that is derived from lived experiences. By blending these research perspectives, African American women, in particular, can obtain a clearer sense of themselves. hooks (1989, 1994) writes extensively about the intersection between race and gender. She clearly demonstrates that she understands the dynamics of patriarchy and the liberatory thinking that characterizes feminist theory. As such, hooks terms feminism as "a transformational politic". However, she points out that feminism can be seen as " private cult whose members are usually white" and she wisely cautions us to consider that feminist action to resist patriarchy is not to be viewed as more legitimate than action to resist racism or other forms of domination. This idea relates closely to the "double jeopardy" that Giddings (1984) identified in her study as a point of contention for African American women. In my study, it was actually afrocentricity coupled with feminist perspectives that helped me to center myself as an African American woman within the field of research.

Etter-Lewis (1996) alludes to the void felt by African American women when she says "women of color who by definition experience the double bind of racism and sexism, tend to be underrepresented in research and literature alike. In those rare instances where we are included, we are likely to be at the periphery rather than at the center, added extras for the purpose of political correctness" (p. 3). Foster (1996) underscores the fact that African American researchers are forced to simultaneously deal with afrocentricity and mainstream research norms. Because of this dual set of norms--academic and African American culture--the researcher often has to deal with conflict in terms of values and worldviews. This is a plus. She says that "as ethnic minorities we have to bring multiple perspectives to our research endeavors" (p. 216).

I value my identity as an African American and as a woman. Afrocentricity and feminism help me to acknowledge and articulate who I am as a researcher and, in my view, this conscious, explicit expression of self as researcher adds validity and reliability to the research design, methodology and results. Actually, I think that my varied life experience has not given me a narrow African American perspective, but a larger perspective as an "omni-American". Recent research on teaching involving African Americans focuses on the notions of "culturally responsive" and "culturally relevant" pedagogy. Ladson-Billings (1994) explains that "culturally relevant teaching honors the students' sense of humanity and dignity. Their complete personhood is never doubted. Self-worth and self-concept is promoted in a very basic way, by acknowledging the individual's worthiness to be a part of a supportive and loving group" (p. 76). Cultural relevance can be viewed as an ingredient into the curriculum planning and teaching process, but also as an ingredient and outcome of the research process.

When critical pedagogy is combined with afrocentricity and feminism, then the results can be explosive. hooks (1994) gives Friere credit for introducing her to the concept of critical pedagogy. She says, "he made me think deeply about the construction of an identity in resistance". She contends that Friere's political language about oppression and domination led her to a "struggle that engaged me in a process of critical thought that was transformative" (p. 46). Friere (1970) describes the kind of critical pedagogy that is needed in our system of formal education when he says,

> The starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people. Utilizing certain basic contradictions, we must pose this existential, concrete, present situation to the people as a problem which challenges them and requires a response--not just at the intellectual level, but at the level of action (p. 77)

Shor (1992) contends that "knowledge is not exactly power" and "understanding reality is not the same thing as changing it" (p. 6). These scholars' cries for research and education beyond the intellectual realm are pertinent to this study because African American scholar-activists have demonstrated that by combining afrocentricity with feminism and critical pedagogy, transformation is possible. hooks (1989) asserts that scholars and teachers especially need this kind of research and education by saying "we must ask ourselves how can it be that many of us lack critical consciousness, have little or no understanding of the politics of race, deny that white supremacy threatens our existence and well-being, and act in complicity by internalizing racism and denigrating and devaluing blackness. We must identify ways these assumptions, beliefs, and values are expressed so as to construct strategies of resistance and transformation" (p. 65).

Critical pedagogy requires teaching and learning that is relational. The critical thinking skills that develop by questioning with the sincere desire to know *and* to do can contribute greatly to personal and social transformation. Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a particular legal theory that has emerged to "challenge the ways in which race and racial power are constructed and represented in American legal culture and, more generally, in American society as a whole" (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas; 1995). CRT enables scholars to examine legal decisions, practices and doctrines in the context of culture, politics, economics and history. From a CRT framework, the law is not objective and neutral. Crenshaw et al. (1995) say that the "law is shown to be thoroughly involved in constructing the rules of the game, in selecting the eligible players, and in choosing the field on which the rules of the game must be played" (p. xxv).

CRT is an example of how critical pedagogy can contribute to liberation because it adds dimension to the study and practice of law by acknowledging the power of ideology and operating on the premise that race is primarily a social construct. CRT as a legal theory insists that we "abandon the myth that legal institutions employ a rational, apolitical, and neutral discourse with which to mediate the exercise of social power" (p.

xviii). CRT highlights the complexities involved with the law and the public policy making process and debunks that myth that the law is devoid of values and passions. Indeed, it was the letter *and* the spirit of the law that dictated African Americans' experience in higher education, including the establishment of HBCUs.

In addition to its use in the legal field, critical pedagogy is being used to expose contradictions and to stimulate change in other fields such as political science, literary studies and feminist theory. Some manner of "critical educational theory" is also needed. Such a theory would lead us to construct pedagogy that, like afrocentricity, values the culture and spirit involved with teaching and learning. Like feminism, it would also lead us to an understanding of the ways that biased systems and attitudes dominate our lives. With critical pedagogy, research can be infinitely generative and action oriented. I believe that the alchemy involved with afrocentricity, feminist theory and critical pedagogy in completing this qualitative research study produced some knowledge and truth that has led to some profound personal change and some viable ideas for social change.

CHAPTER 5

LESSON PLANS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

The Power of Curriculum in a Democracy

Higher education can learn some lessons from African Americans' experience. In fact, the inclusion of African Americans in higher education continues to offer the institution its greatest challenges and the power of curriculum offers its greatest promise. When De Toqueville (1945) studied democracy as it was conceived in America, he observed that "if ever America undergoes great revolutions, they will be brought about by the presence of the black race on the soil of the United States; that is to say, they will owe their origin, not to the equality, but to the inequality of condition" (p. 256). The institution of higher education has clearly served as a vehicle to promulgate inequality, and transformation is needed. Ellison (1970) said that "by the irony implicit in the dynamics of American democracy, Black people symbolize both its most stringent testing and the possibility of its greatest human freedom" (p. 112). Democracy will be well served when the African American experience is fully embraced within higher education.

Addressing concerns about the development and inclusion of African Americans does not necessarily mean a return to the world of separatism and segregation. Instead, what is needed is tacit acknowledgment of the fact that there are some "human discoveries" inherent in the African American experience that can guide the transformation of American democracy. All people deserve to develop their latent potential and higher education can lead the way. The political and pedagogical nature of black studies programs have already forced higher education to come to terms with the nature of the curriculum, the need for more diverse human resources and the structure of the academic enterprise. More is needed. Using the experience and results of black studies programs as

a springboard, on-going curriculum development can produce the innovations, motivations and directions that are need for sustained change efforts.

Curriculum means many things to many people and for many reasons. Like the concepts of leadership and community, the meaning of curriculum is multifaceted and elusive. Curriculum, though, is powerful and ubiquitous. A focus on the broad nature of curriculum and the specific curriculum needs of African Americans is helpful to my interest in building an inclusive and comprehensive process for curriculum development which incorporates the five critical dimensions of teaching and transformation. Reflection and critical thinking about curriculum usually stirs great debate about the nature and stature of the academic enterprise as well as the construction of knowledge and power. Ghory and Sinclair (1987) assert that curriculum is a means to an end and a vehicle for connecting teachers and learners. They also point out that curriculum can be expressed, implied and emergent and that curriculum can be viewed as "environments for learning". They acknowledge that curriculum extends beyond the classroom and that on a continuum, curriculum "runs from externally decided curriculum to internally perceived curriculum" (p. 87).

The strength of this view of curriculum is that it is expansive and comprehensive, allowing for systematic development of the teaching and learning process through on-going and relevant curriculum development. Consequently, the internally perceived dimension of curriculum has served as a strong force for African Americans in their quest for liberation. While others expected education to help African Americans fit into the existing social order that relegated them to the lower rungs of society, African Americans expected education to be--as hooks suggests--the "practice of freedom". Tyler (1949) places emphasis on using data to develop curriculum and the need for educators to be clear about the purposes of instructional plans and programs. He suggests that the studies of the learners themselves, studies of society, and suggestions from subject specialists are all important sources of data to be used in making decisions about curriculum. Tyler

contends that curriculum is a "functioning instrument of education" and his premise about the importance of informed decision making forces us to examine the assumptions and goals of educational programs, plans, policies and pursuits. He says a basic decision that must be made is whether people are being educated to fit into the existing society or whether they are bring educated to improve and change it.

Gill (1991) discusses curriculum in the context of subjects and skills that students need to learn to be prepared to live in a multicultural world. His conception of curriculum entails giving students "the cognitive and affective experiences which will make them functional in the 21st century" (p. 19). Using the values of African American culture, Gill prescribes the development of a curriculum that incorporates a "spiritual, humanistic side" to learning and promotes positive self-concept and self-confidence so that people will be able "to understand the importance of good human relations in an increasingly global village" (pp. 144, 19). Gill's view of curriculum places emphasis on the need for self-actualized teachers who have high expectations for themselves and others. DuBois (1933) says that the curriculum is the vehicle for integrating students with life. He makes the point that the curriculum must be a reflection of the need for social change instead of "propaganda for things as they are" (p. 96). DuBois' view of curriculum challenges us to identify ways that the power of curriculum can be used for personal and social transformation.

In my view, curriculum embraces all of these perspectives and more. Curriculum is a reflection of the teacher, the learner, the institution and society's view of who people should be, what they should know and what they should be able to do. Curriculum has a lot to do with recognizing the potential of people and helping them to reach for it within themselves and through community living. The power of curriculum, then, is that it is a mechanism for people to become more self-aware and knowledgeable about the world around them. It is a way for people to learn how to respect and to value human life and how to be committed to seeking truth and justice. The curriculum produces benefits not

just for the learners, but for the teachers and society as well. Given its powerful and ubiquitous nature, it is imperative that we develop a holistic curriculum that is flexible enough to meet the diverse needs of people in a variety of ways and in a variety of settings. Curriculum greatly influences the well-being of people and the nation.

Every child in America is not entitled to health care, housing or food. Many children are homeless and hungry. Some children are physically sick and abused. Every one of these children though, *is* entitled to education. Across America and throughout time, the essential socialization role of schools has been recognized and exploited. Schools have been in the forefront of society's quest to realize democratic ideals and schools have served as crucial battlegrounds for groups and individuals seeking freedom and democracy. Schools are the places in society where we have been forced to face ourselves and where we try to find ways (even imperfect ones) to live up to the ideals of American democracy and the principles of humanity. Schools are the places where we experiment with the integration of people and where we promote dominant ideologies that perpetuate the existing system. Schools are the places where we will tell people whether they measure up, whether they can meet the standards, and whether they will be allowed to live the American dream or be relegated to living the American nightmare. Schools are the places where racism has been used to divide the best and the brightest from the rest.

Edelman (1993) reminds us that the most challenging aspects of racism are in the minds and spirits of people. At some level in society, we need institutions that can reach and teach the minds and spirits of people. "Higher" education is considered to be the domain for developing the minds of leaders who will make decisions for our nation. Teachers, who are responsible for developing the minds of people, are educated in the realm of "higher" education. The curriculum is the instrument that is used to shape the knowledge, attitudes and behavior of teachers and leaders. By its very nature and function, curriculum influences the mind and permeates the spirit because it embraces certain ideologies, doctrines, judgments, norms, ideals, slogans and symbols--all which are

impregnated with a set of core values and beliefs. One race is superior. Another race is inferior. One race should be classified as property and another race should be classified as owners of property--masters of the universe. Through the curriculum, schools at all levels have served to perpetuate the racism in our minds and hearts. As Woodson (1993) describes it, the curriculum in schools is a powerful force for inculcating children with ideas and images of inferiority and superiority. He says,

> in geography the races were described in conformity with the program of the usual propaganda to engender in whites a race hate of the negro, and in the Negroes contempt for themselves. A poet of distinction was selected to illustrate the features of the white race, a bedecked chief of a tribe those of the red, a proud warrior the brown, a prince the yellow, and a savage with a ring in his nose the black. The Negro, of course stood at the foot of the social ladder (p. 18).

For every subject that was taught, there was diminished value or total omission of African Americans in the curriculum. The White race, on the other hand, was usually glorified and celebrated as a superior people. As presented to school children, inventions, literature, science, wisdom--indeed all knowledge and goodness--has emanated from White people. The media reinforces these notions. The race and culture of other groups besides African Americans has been demeaned too, but at least there has been some level of respect for the distinctive, "exotic" characteristics and legendary achievements of the people immigrating to America from other foreign lands. America must seek harmony and bring itself into balance. At this point to achieve balance, the pendulum must swing in a way that may produce unequal (more) access and resources for African Americans because we have historically and repeatedly been denied the opportunities and reparations due for our toil and blood. African American people deserve to be honored. Our children deserve to know the truth.

From pre-school to higher education, we must find ways to incorporate the cultural ethos of African Americans into the educational environment, including changes to the curriculum, the teaching methodologies, the leadership, the resources and the measurement systems inherent within the educational context. We must also teach people about afrocentric world views to help them better communicate with African Americans so we can develop the kind of understanding that will bring people together instead of keeping us separate. King (1948) reminds us that "if we are not careful, our colleges will produce a group of close-minded, unscientific, illogical propagandists, consumed with immoral acts" (p. 2). As an educator, I question the wisdom of continuing to have a formal education system--from preschool to higher education--that primarily values and promotes a narrow Eurocentric perspective. Certainly, in a multicultural world, we can all benefit from some broader conceptions of knowledge, understanding and wisdom.

The legacy of black studies programs to higher education in America is that these programs helped to transform not only black communities, but the larger society as well by continually asking questions and searching for answers about how to make democracy operational, rather than just an ideal. Since higher education is responsible for training the teachers that reach all children through the public schools, it is an institution that is instrumental to democracy and critical to African Americans. Higher education can lead the way for changes to our public school system. Hale (1994) reminds us that "the masses of Black children depend on a strong public school system for their education". She argues that without culturally appropriate assistance within the public schools, African Americans will continue to live on the margins. Hale challenges us to hold the public schools accountable for helping "a larger number of Black children to discover their several intelligences". She also urges us to think in terms of "distinctive" curriculum ideas rather than "compensatory" curriculum ideas (p. xiii).

Harrington (1981) also suggests that a "compensatory" approach is not sufficient for America to achieve justice in relation to African Americans' plight. He says, "the

American economy, the American society, the American unconscious are all racist. To be equal, the Negro requires something much more profound than a way 'into' the society; he needs a transformation of some basic institutions of the society" (p. 71-72). If we want to develop the role of public education and transform American democracy, then the curriculum used in schools must include some consideration for race. By placing racism at the center of inquiry and action, there is much that we can learn. If we learn more about racism, then we will come to know that the breadth and depth of the African American experience has yielded some pain, but also a spiritual resource that can serve as a transformative force for America. Just how does the human spirit endure sustained assault, degradation and torment over a long period of time and transform these experiences into power and genius? Once the roots of American democracy are exposed, the soil can be turned over and strengthened through scholarship and social change. Then and only then, can we cultivate a genuine reconstruction of society by planting new seeds of equality and righteousness.

Schools are fertile ground in our pursuit to transform our society. The power of curriculum is evident. Existing curriculum in schools do not adequately prepare people to live productively and peacefully. The curricula in most schools is overly focused on content and testing. Sinclair and Ghory (1987) say that "greater concern must be given to helping students develop and demonstrate critical thinking skills and problem-solving capabilities, moving beyond the current emphasis of exposing students to certain bodies of knowledge for specified lengths of time" (p. 81). The mind and spirit (or body either) is not challenged to its highest potential when the expectation is that students will memorize facts and then repeat them upon examination. Despite numerous "reform" efforts, most school systems are stagnant and the system of formal schools in America continues to function as designed--to train students to become workers who will fit into the existing system with its inherent inequalities and injustices.

This influence of American capitalism on the function of formal schooling cannot be denied. Toffler (1995) says that "America's schools still operate like factories. They subject the raw material (children) to standardized instruction and routine inspection" (p. 83). Schools function to breed conformity to dubious "standards" and therefore they are not meeting the needs of an increasingly diverse society which is in desperate need of non-conformists and spiritual leaders who have the capacity for critical thinking and creative genius. While every child has the opportunity to attend public schools, the absenteeism, suspension and drop-out rates are abysmal and disproportionate based on race--particularly in most urban settings. Kohl (1994) contends that the "reasons for failure may be personal, social, or cultural, but whatever they are, the results of failure are most often a loss of self-confidence accompanied by a sense of inferiority and inadequacy" (p. 6).

The violence, ignorance, prejudice and disrespect typically present in schools--both urban and suburban--are killing the American dream. The formidable power of existing leaders can not be disregarded in any initiatives launched to produce social change. Myriad power struggles by inept leaders for control and resource allocations are having negative impacts on the lives of individuals, families, organizations and communities. Property owners, corporations and legislative bodies have power and historically this power has been invested in certain kinds of knowledge and attitudes about race. American laws and institutions reflect the influence of this power and government mandates for reform have not included much consideration for the best ways to lead people toward change. Banks (1991) says that "even though the schools teach students the expressed ideals of justice and equality dominant within U.S. society, rarely do we deliberately educate students for social change and help them to acquire the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to help them close the gap between our democratic ideals and societal realities" (p. 140). To save our children, schools must be designed to promote change and a multi-faceted approach to curriculum is required.

We must be honest about the roots of democracy in America. The nation has indeed made some progress with "integrating" African Americans into the mainstream of democracy. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 freed African Americans from physical bondage and passage of a series of Civil Rights Acts have broken down some of the legal barriers. African Americans now have some rights that "the white man is bound to respect". Yet, for about 500 years, America maintained separate and unequal systems based on race. It has only been less than 50 years since "separate and unequal" was formally outlawed, but African Americans are still being denied access to the society's institutions, communities and programs. The intent and actions are more subtle and far less visible. The signs have come down, we rely on "affirmative action", everyone is now "an equal opportunity employer" and we have "fair housing". New policies, old practices and emerging legal principles have all converged to continue the separate and unequal treatment of people based on race.

The "psychology of whiteness" has a powerful stronghold on the minds and hearts of people too. In Confessions of a White Racist, L. King (1969) emphasizes that "like war, racial prejudice need not justify itself rationally in order to exist or even to thrive. All that is necessary for both war and racism to retain their high popularity are people who are willing to divide humanity into groups of 'We' and 'They' and then blithely proceed as if 'We' retain all exclusive solutions or traits" (p. x.). On the other hand, African Americans are still hampered by "chains of psychological slavery". Akbar (1993) introduced this phrase to explain the challenges that African Americans face in trying to overcome the negative impact of slavery on African American culture. The thoughts and feelings that are cultivated by the psychology of racism often lead to aberrant behaviors and devastating results that manifest in the big and little things of life. And so we live and die with racism

At the level of higher education, credentials are dispensed to people who are able to move into leadership ranks in all fields of endeavor. Noting the power of higher education in society, Ladd and Lipset (1975) contend that "the university has become the

great legitimizing and certifying institution of contemporary secular societies" (p. 2). Decisions made about higher education, such as who can be included and who can not, have far reaching consequences for the nation. Presently, only a small percentage of the population has experienced "higher" education by attending college. Credentials should represent more than someone's ability to pay the cost of tuition and move through a rigid system based on unexamined assumptions about people, places and things. A college degree should signal to people that the graduate has indeed been able to move past conditioned responses to accomplish learning at a "higher" level. Since higher education is still a privilege in society, the opportunity to attend college should only be offered to those people who are most committed to developing their cultural identity and leadership integrity through a curriculum that involves the mind, body and spirit and leads us toward social change.

Commager (1993) aptly quotes De Tocqueville who says, "I am tempted to the belief that what are called necessary institutions to which one is accustomed, and that in matters of social constitution, the field of possibilities is much wider than people living within society can imagine" (p. 8). We have a lot of work to do to transform America. I believe that the field of possibilities within education are deep and wide. Moreover, I imagine that we can transform the climate and context for teaching and learning within higher education. We have a human opportunity in America and we need leadership which can help us rise to the occasion. Leaders committed to the good can bring us together so we can purposefully choose to create a reality where dreams can come true for everyone-regardless of the color of their skin. We can transform our world. King (1961) claimed that "God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race and in the creation of a society where all men can live together as brothers, where every man will respect the dignity and worth of human personality" (p. 215). Higher education, with the power of curriculum, can lead the way to the fulfillment of democracy.

An African proverb admonishes us to "anticipate the good so that you may enjoy it". I imagine that through the power of holistic curriculum, an "army" of teachers as scholar-activists will be able to help people in our society to discover their gifts and talents so that we can share genuine, active participation in governance to make change and to actualize our democratic ideals. I envision an atmosphere in higher education that values and affirms the worth of all people. I can see higher education as an institution that is inclusive, multicultural, flexible and comprehensive. Assessments, measurements and evaluations are designed to "test" students in ways that promote their development and affirm their progress--not in ways that diminish their worth and limit their possibilities. Communities are viewed as partners in the educational process. Open and honest communication between everyone serves as the lifeblood of the system. The environment in higher education encourages collaboration, stimulates communication, engages all of our senses and provides us with a safe place to teach and to learn. Resources are available according to need and investments in higher education are highly valued. The structure, organization, funding and politics of higher education can serve as catalysts for the development of an "army" of teachers as scholar-activists who can lead the way.

Teachers as Scholar-Activists

Palmer (1998) reminds us that "unlike many professions, teaching is always done at the dangerous intersection of personal and public life" (p. 18). Teachers at all levels are on the "front line" and many of them have lost heart. While all teachers cannot be indicted, there are a significant number of teachers that have purposefully distanced themselves from students and the subject matter, believing that detachment is an appropriate survival mechanism. Relationships are the key to success for teachers who are obliged to serve as mentors, coaches, guides and facilitators. Therefore, teachers cannot allow their fear or vulnerability to dictate their philosophy and practice.

There are about 5 million teachers at the K-12 level in America and about 430,000 of them are African American (Foster, 1997). Within higher education, there are about 25,000 African American teachers out of about 530,000 total faculty (Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 1995). Some of these teachers have developed themselves in the tradition of African American scholar-activists who teach to transform. Others have become overwhelmed by the "system" of education, and they have given up on trying to make change that might benefit teachers, students and society. Clearly, the hierarchical structure, bureaucratic system and political nature of formal education can discourage innovative teachers and non-conformists who want to lead the way. Palmer (1998), though, stresses that teachers must take ownership and adopt a proactive view of the possibilities for institutional change when he says that,

> Yet, at this point in history it should be clear that external 'fixes' will not come soon enough to sustain the deepest passions of people who care about teaching. Institutions reform slowly, and as along as we wait, depending on 'them' to do the job for us-forgetting that institutions are also 'us'-- we merely postpone reform and continue the slow slide into cynicism that characterizes too many teaching careers (pp.19-20).

Teachers can become scholar-activists when the curriculum for teacher education and professional development opportunities are explicitly designed to incorporate the mind, body and spirit and to stimulate action. Given the status of the academic enterprise within America, it is imperative that teachers be more proactive, self-aware, knowledgeable about the interdependent nature of life and committed to social change. To achieve this aim for teacher education programs, higher education can make use of afrocentricity, feminist theory, and critical pedagogy. Autobiography can be a resource and qualitative research can be a tool to sharpen academic skills and stimulate creativity. Content can be interdisciplinary and process can be transformative. Scholarship can

produce social change. hooks (1994) reminds us that "we inhabit real institutions where very little seems to be changed, where there are few changes in curriculum, almost no paradigm shifts, and where knowledge and information continue to be presented in the conventionally accepted manner" (p. 143). Teachers can be transformed to become scholar-activists so that people will be educated at "higher" levels to make change.

I have a dream that one day from the mountains of Vermont to the valleys in Mississippi, an "army" of teachers will view themselves as scholar-activists who are continuous learners and innovative servants. They will recognize their strengths and always seek constructive feedback from colleagues and students for the purpose of improving their teaching *and* learning abilities. Teachers as scholar-activists will understand that there is a balance between teaching people about the promises of the inner life, the perils of the external world and the need for transformation. I have a dream that one day, teachers as scholar-activists will design proactive learning activities for schools, homes, organizations and communities. They will insure that there is ample information and that people have the academic skills needed to learn from their experiences, to take action and to celebrate progress. Teachers as scholar-activists will gather and use information for the purposes of elevating our understanding about our world. As scholar-activists, teachers will be exemplars who lead the way.

If there is any possibility for my dream to come true, then the institution of higher education must assume responsibility for constructing collaborative teaching and learning programs that allow diverse people to co-create knowledge, to deepen our understanding of each other and to merge the best of our ideas and ideals so that we can use our collective wisdom to sustain improvement in the quality of our lives. Teacher education programs within higher education that are designed to educate teachers as scholar-activists must value diversity and promote collective work and responsibility. A primary responsibility of the candidates for teachers as scholar-activists will be to think critically and to search their souls for divine guidance so we can deconstruct the notion and practice

of racism and then re-construct a nation based on the best of humanity. Candidates desiring to be scholar-activists will be assessed and they must demonstrate that they are capable of viewing interdisciplinary information from a variety of perspectives. They must also be capable of relating to all kinds of people and they must demonstrate that they have high expectations and are capable of challenging students (and themselves) to solve the "real" problems of our society and not just the symptoms.

When teachers have been educated to be scholar-activists, then they will be able to reach beyond their comfort zones and use their creative powers to transform lives, organizations, systems and communities. The role and responsibility of higher education is to be a vehicle for transformation by preparing the courageous, visionary scholar-activists who can guide us down a road that will lead us to a just and true democracy. Science and mathematics cannot be our only compasses. Music and art must be equally valued and knowledge must come from the heart as well as the mind. To educate scholar-activists in the traditions of African American culture, we will need to unpack our knowledge about the diverse gifts of the spirit. Scholar-activists must be viewed as spiritual leaders who are trained to see the good and the potential in themselves and everyone else and then they must nurture this ability in others.

Lorraine Hansberry asks, what happens to a dream deferred? Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun? I dream a world where teachers as scholar-activists can harness the light of the sun to nurture change. I intend to hold fast to my dreams because I believe that if "higher" education is broadened and deepened using the critical dimensions of teaching and transformation, then progress is possible. The original version of American democracy disregarded a moral imperative. Along with the institution of slavery, the founding fathers planted seeds and nurtured the roots of racism. Uprooting and trimming back the manifestations of the seeds sown are formidable, but not impossible tasks. Human beings created these problems and human beings can solve these problems. Ultimately, it is a

choice that we should make and a chance that we should take. On behalf of future generations, we should all aspire to "form a more perfect union".

Seven Ways to Transform Higher Education

According to the Sounds of Blackness' song, it's "time for healing--time is running out and we must begin healing from without and healing from within" (Perspective Records, 1997, track 16). Higher education can seize the time and lead the way to a more humane, just and generative society by helping us to deconstruct race and rebuild humanity. Higher education has gone through periods of transformation before and the time is now right for higher education to be transformed again. Kerr (1991) identifies three "great transformations" in the history of American higher education. He says that the first period came with the founding of Harvard College and the College of William and Mary. The curriculum was of a classical nature and the structure of these institutions allowed for boards of trustees and strong presidencies "from which so much else has flowed by way of the autonomy, diversity, flexibility, and competitiveness of American institutions of higher education" (p. xi). Kerr also cites the religious connections of the colleges as a significant factor in their development.

The second transformation involved the period after the Civil War when "science began to take over from religion and the classics" leading to greater specialization, graduate study, a rise in faculty governance and the elevation of academic freedom. Kerr says "this meant mostly service to the productive elements of society-especially to agriculture and industry" (p. xi). Thus, the advent of the research university. He also mentions that this is the period when most HBCUs were founded. The third period involved with transformation was from 1960-1980 when the number of students attending institutions of higher education grew from 3.5 million in 1960 to 12 million in 1980. Kerr also cites data during this period that reveals the growth of public colleges and

universities, the growth of community colleges and the "transition of teachers colleges to comprehensive colleges and universities" (p. xii). Along with the growth of the academic enterprise, was growth in the professoriate, the number of doctorate degrees granted and the number of universities with "substantial national research responsibilities" (p. xiii).

Beyond this, Kerr says that the classical curriculum, which had been dominant since the founding of higher education, evolved to serve the direct interests of the professions. He also says that higher education became more politicized during the third transformation, citing "the largest series of student revolts in American history" and "substantial shocks to the governance mechanisms (p. xiii)". Kerr acknowledges that there was also a "public effort to achieve equality of opportunity to attend college with results that did not match the effort" (pp. xiii). He concludes his discussion of these transformative periods with the idea that higher education "had become a more central aspect of the life of the nation and was, consequently in turn, a greater potential source of transformation for the nation" (p. 376).

Kerr (1994), who is considered to be an expert on higher education, also looked toward the future in higher education and in doing so, he pointed out that "higher education, in its policies toward minorities has been found wanting, and that there have been, and will be, even more serious consequences" (p. 152). The African American scholar-activists that were a part of this study all made a note of the ways that higher education was "found wanting" in addressing their needs and aspirations. Wade-Gayles (1993) wrote about the singular focus that higher education has on the intellect and the disregard for the spiritual ways of knowing that African Americans have developed over time. hooks (1994) bemoaned the content and process of the curriculum in higher education because it does not allow for "transformative pedagogy". DuBois (1933) expressed disappointment in the exclusion of the "Negro problem" from the center of inquiry in higher education, and Cooper (1998) complained that as an institution,

American higher education did not "careth for my soul". Crummell (1992) championed the cause for greater access to college for African Americans.

As a sign of the times, Bromery and Simmons alluded to the declining numbers of African Americans attending college and the need for more African American professors and administrators within higher education. Hill spoke about the negative environment that he encountered within higher education and he longed for more contact with African American students and teachers. Gates (1994) suggested that college could be more purposeful in helping students to affirm their identities and my Uncle Alton challenged higher education to have greater expectations for African American students. My own encounters with racism in college have led me to believe that teachers and professors need special education to be successful with students from different cultures. As the most recent college graduate, my son Kamari offered some insight into some of particular aspects of higher education that could be transformed to make it more inclusive. When I asked him what college meant to him and what he learned while he was enrolled, he said,

> When I went to college, I thought that I was going to gain some more insight into myself and what I should do with my life. Instead, college was really something that I just wanted to get through with so I could move on in life. I knew that I had to have a college degree to get me on the right career path. It was just the systematic thing to do. The classes weren't really interesting to me. I never heard about Black people. Most of what we did in class was to listen to professors who used all these different terms that they wanted you to memorize. I took a lot of multiple choice tests and wrote a few papers. One of the things that I really learned is the way the world works. It's really about who you know and networking. It's important to make contact with people. At first I wanted to be a teacher because I wanted to work with youth and teaching was an obvious choice. But then when I learned more about how the system worked, I decided that I could work better with youth outside of the system. By being in the community instead of the schools, I can make learning for them more interesting because it's not so rigid. I have an agenda to reach the youth and I

> have my own spin on how to do it. If I was in a school I would have to do what the principal tells me to do and the principal is told what to do by the superintendent and the superintendent is told what to do through the state. There's too much focus on the subject and the books and the tests and not enough focus on the students as people who can make something out of their life. What I learned in college is that there's only one way to teach and it's not the way I want to teach (personal communication, October 22,1999).

There must be a way to transform higher education so that it can be more responsive to the needs of the nation. The seven ways to transform higher education that are offered here serve as prescriptions in the spirit of moving us forward and with the understanding that all things work together for good. The healing needed within the field of higher education involves giving honor to the lessons learned from the legacy of African American scholar-activists who used teaching and scholarship as ways to transform. The healing needed from without is a recognition that, as an institution, higher education can have an important impact on the nation. These ideas, as briefly presented, are merely seeds of thought that must be fertilized, cultivated and nurtured by further research and action to produce real and lasting change. There are, of course, many other ideas that can be suggested, but this list of seven ways to transform higher education builds on the strengths of African American scholar-activists as leaders. Kerr (1991) confirmed that higher education can be transformed and have an impact on the nation. It is time for a fourth transformation within higher education.

Admissions Policies as Justice

The purpose of higher education should be to teach people how to think critically, how to liberate the spirit and how to act in ways that will lead humanity through life's lowest valleys and onto its highest peaks. As a nation racism is one of our lowest valleys and one of the ways that it has manifested itself within higher education is through

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admissions policies. As documented, African Americans were denied admission to higher education over a long period of time except for the access that was provided to HBCUs. Since the 1960s, affirmative action policies have helped to increase the number of African Americans that attend college. Still, a smaller percentage of African Americans go to college than do Whites. As Carnoy (1995) points out a number of factors have led to a decline of college enrollment rates for African Americans, including higher tuition costs and changes in government policy related to financial aid. Admission policies have also changed as a result of politicians and others who have advocated for the elimination of affirmative action and other such programs that were designed to compensate African Americans and other "minority" groups for historic inequities.

Policies of all kinds are developed and enforced to guide the behavior of people and institutions. Fincher (1973) asserts that policy is how change gets made and it evolves based on the need to clarify it. Admissions policies serve as the "gatekeeper" for American higher education. Understanding who is making policy and for what purpose is central to the question of how admissions policies can be changed to insure that the nation's interest in achieving justice is being served. Power and authority are woven into the policy making process and often those who are most affected have the least power. If those who benefit from the status quo are responsible for making policy, then little real change can be expected. The current admissions process is clearly biased toward students who have had opportunities to experience the world from certain racial and class perspectives. Standardized tests, grade point averages and rank in class weigh heavily in the decision making process to determine who will have the opportunity to attend college. Colleges also review personal essays, letters of recommendations and results of interviews. Some colleges even consider financial status in making admissions decisions.

Peterson's Competitive College Guide (1997-98) declares that the "good colleges typically take great care in admitting their student bodies" (p. 2). Listed in this guide of the "Top Colleges and Universities in the U.S. for the World's Best Students" are about 500

of the 3,500 total colleges and universities in America, including Harvard and other "Ivy League" schools. The designation of being a "top" institution within higher education is based on a number of "objective" factors including the size of endowments, library holdings, faculty-student ratios, average grade point averages (GPA), Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, number of national merit scholars in the student body, and facilities. There is also a "prestige" factor that comes from the reputation of various schools. There are only 3 HBCUs on the list--Spelman College, Morehouse College and Fisk University. Higher education's tendency to quantify students "qualifications" for college yields a certain kind of student body.

According to the Chronicle of Higher Education (2000), the freshman class entering college in the Fall 1999 included 80 percent of students whose parental income was above $30,000. Only 12 percent of the students had GPAs less than B- and the majority of students said that they selected their college because of its reputation. (Of course, everyone knows that the "prestige" colleges will lead to more competitive job prospects!) About 80 percent of the students were White and the occupation that the greatest number of students are seeking is teaching at all levels. If we truly believe that people have latent potential and that "higher" education can be a source of human growth, then we should not hesitate to develop admissions policies that provide greater access by valuing broader notions of intelligence. Measuring student potential through a series of more subjective measures will yield a different kind of student body. Newer concepts, such as "multiple intelligence" and "emotional intelligence" can become factors for admissions to college.

The admissions process could be designed as qualitative research for the purpose of gathering information about the candidates and helping them to assess their own leadership potential. Criteria could include the students' interest in education for the purpose of social change, their ability to relate well to all kinds of people and their level of self-knowledge. Assessment of the candidates could include a series of interviews,

statements from their peers, evidence of their service to community, and a review of the candidate's own self-assessment. Pencil and paper testing would be limited in scope and used only to "test" the candidate's writing and critical thinking abilities so that an academic program could be tailored to meet their needs. Such criteria would increase access to a larger and more varied group of "the best and brightest" students. What a paradigm shift!

HBCUs as Magnet Schools

As an introduction to From Isolation to Mainstream: Problems of the College Founded for Negroes, issued by the Carnegie Commission in 1971, Myrdal was quoted as saying,

> If America in actual practice could show the world a progressive trend by which the Negro became finally integrated into modern democracy, all mankind would be given faith again--it would have reason to believe that peace, progress and order are feasible (p. 3).

The existence of separate and unequal HBCUs in the year 2000 gives us reason to pause when we consider that higher education is often viewed as a vehicle for economic and social mobility and is therefore often regarded to be an "equalizer". Yet, HBCUs are still viewed as separate and based on the criteria used to identify "competitive" colleges, the overwhelming majority of them are still regarded as unequal. HBCUs must become more "integrated" into modern democracy. When I visited Dillard University in Louisiana, I was impressed by the mighty oak trees that populated the campus. My aunt explained to me that every student who graduates must walk down a path that is covered by these trees. The branches of the trees reach far and wide. The trunks shall not be moved. Each year, oak trees in North America furnish more native timber than any other broad-leaved

tree. HBCUs within the field of higher education are great assets to the nation but their potential to lead social change has not been fully recognized or cultivated.

The significance of HBCUs within higher education is their role as historic institutions that have nurtured the minds, spirits and bodies of leaders who are interested in freedom and justice for all and who have the knowledge and skills to help transform society. HBCUs serve as symbols of African Americans' proud struggle for equality in America, as repositories of African American culture and as beacons of hope for the development of future leaders. Collectively, HBCUs enroll about 300,000 of the 14.2 million students who are enrolled in higher education (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1994). The challenge for HBCUs is to distinguish their institutions and academic programs from other institutions of higher education in such a way that makes them a valuable resource not only to African Americans but to the larger population as well. Mingle (1998) says that the system of higher education in the 21st century will become even more "competitive" and "market driven". HBCUs clearly have a history and experience that other colleges and universities do not have when it comes to race relations, certain cultural traditions, community building and student development.

Through deliberate and sustained scholarship and action, we can better understand what courses of action America must take to live up to its democratic ideals and, therefore, to serve as a leader for the rest of the world. Foster (1997) reports that in 1974, HBCUs graduated about 9,000 teachers. By 1984, HBCUs were preparing only half as many students as teachers. Greer (1994) reveals that "the near demise of teacher education programs at historically black college and universities still remains a secret to many alumni of those institutions and, to a great extent, the African American community at large" (p. 21). We cannot afford to lose the contribution that HBCUs can make to help us prepare an army of teachers as scholar activists. A strategic change in the role and function of HBCUs can be instrumental to their survival and to the progress of the nation. It is time for HBCUs, in Ruth Simmons words, to "claim the center". With well crafted legislation

that provides for appropriate resource allocations, we can build on the historic roots and strengths of HBCUs to fulfill an unmet need in higher education as it relates to teaching for transformation and scholarship for social change.

The 104 HBCUs that exist today represent about 3.5 percent of all institutions of higher education in the United States. They offer exactly the same course of study that most other institutions of higher education offer. As a group of schools within the field of higher education, HBCUs can be developed as distinctive "magnet schools" for the scholars and activists who want to help us sift through the morass of racism and develop some solutions. As the "Oak League" of higher education, HBCUs can be positioned to fulfill the role that DuBois envisioned for them long ago. DuBois (1933) contended that, "no matter how we may dislike the statement, the American Negro problem is and must be the center of the negro university" (p. 92). The choice for HBCUs to focus on the history and plight of African Americans is not the choice for a narrow focus. There is a spirit of higher education that we must re-create and promote. By focusing on issues of race relations, diversity and justice, we can get at the heart of America's problems and root out the longstanding injustices that are holding us all back. HBCUs will then be viewed as having "substantial national research responsibilities".

DuBois (1903) asserted that "the function of the Negro college then is clear; it must maintain the standards of popular education, it must seek the social regeneration of the Negro, and it must help in the solution of problems of race contact and co-operation. Herein the longing of black men must have respect; the rich and bitter depth of their experience, the unknown treasures of their inner life, the strange rendings of nature they have seen, may give the world new points of view and make their loving, living and doing precious to all human hearts" (p. 66). HBCUs could be sanctuaries that offer interested faculty, students and administrators the opportunity to examine in a systematic and holistic way more about the nature of human interactions, race relations and genuine democracy. In this way, higher education will contribute to "human discovery" just as much as it does

to "scientific discovery". If we think of HBCUs as becoming "boot camps" to train an "army" of teachers of all skin colors as scholar-activists who can infiltrate and transform our formal educational system from pre-school to graduate school, then a revolution in teacher education can take place. Graduates of "prestigious" HBCUs will be known as transformers who can instigate and manage change in themselves, others, organizations, systems and communities. HBCUs can be a catalyst for transformation in education.

Curriculum Frameworks as Guides for Spiritual-Intellect

Hughes et al (1973) say that "Black Studies are needed now more than ever. The failure to recognize its importance and to incorporate it in America's program of higher education may well prove to be one of the tradegies of the future" (p. 368) The legacy of black studies programs is that they infused the curriculum in higher education with relevancy and an action-oriented focus that was connected to solving real problems in America. When we combine black studies programs with the development of holistic pedagogy and the search for truth, we can create curriculum frameworks that are centered on developing spiritual-intellect to solve problems. Such a curriculum could be expansive, iterative and creative. In keeping with the spirit and practice of African American scholar-activists, development of an effective curriculum guide that can be used for transformation would require relevant data collection, careful analysis, critical thinking, cultural sensitivity, consideration for spiritual values, collaboration and dialogue about the context for learning and the expected results.

In terms of the content of the curriculum, Giovanni (1994) laments that education has become overly technical and professional. She makes the point that the widespread use of scientific methods and the legitimization given to the quantification of people, places and things limits our view of what is possible. Giovanni says, "it is clear to me that if there is any one crying need in our educational system, it is for the humanities to assert

themselves. The disgraceful legacy of racism has made the idealism of the humanities want to go hide itself under a bush" (p. 108). Simmons (1998) suggests that a liberal arts curriculum is needed to develop the leadership potential of people. She says, "your power to envision the future is something I think you learn as a core level in a broad liberal arts education because the courses engage your imaginative faculties early" (p. 122). Whatever the content, the process can give life and meaning to information.

Using the five critical dimensions for teaching and transformation, curriculum frameworks as guides to develop the mind, body and spirits of people could provide teachers and learners with the armor and ammunition needed to combat racism in American society. hooks (1994) says that "to engage in dialogue is one of the simplest ways we can begin as teachers, scholars, and critical thinkers to cross boundaries, the barriers that may or may not be erected by race, gender, class, professional standing, and a host of other differences" (p. 130). Teachers as scholar-activists cannot afford to operate in isolation. We must relate to each other using our mind, bodies and spirit. hooks says we need to "build a teaching community". Hale (1994) reminds us that "African American children are more sensitive to relations than to information transfer" (p. 157).

It is human nature to want love, respect and support from others. All students (and teachers) need care and attention. The curriculum for teachers *and* students must incorporate the five critical dimensions of teaching and transformation. By strengthening the relationships between the teacher and the learner, the college and the community, personal and social transformation are more likely. African American scholar-activists have demonstrated that when we approach curriculum development in a holistic way, we will cultivate spiritual intellect. Palmer (1993) suggests that "perhaps the ancient communal act called teaching and learning can be renewed by drawing on spiritual wisdom" (p. x.). Critical thinking, consciousness raising, collaboration and action through the power of curriculum can lead us out.

Classroom Environments as Sacred Spaces

An African proverb teaches us that the gift of life is a very precious thing. The classroom is a space for learning, a space for teaching, a space for sharing and a space for being and because they contain human life, classroom environments must be treated with the utmost respect. Thoughtful planning and maintenance of the space is required to provide the kind of holistic educational experience that can transform. hooks (1994) declares that "the classroom is the most radical space of possibility in the academy" (p. 12). As a pedagogical space and a physical space, the classroom holds great potential for transformation. However, the environment in many classrooms within higher education is stifling, stilted and demeaning. In a study of classroom behavior in six institutions of higher education, Maher and Tetreault (1994) found "obvious ways in which the racism of the dominant culture made the construction of an oppositional, rather than a complementary, discourse seem so necessary" (p. 23). hooks (1994) urges us to use the classroom in a way that analytical and experiential ways of knowing are combined to inform action and develop students' and teachers' potential for transformation.

The body, mind and spirit also require nurturance from the physical space of classrooms. When I was studying to obtain my teaching certification during night classes at Westfield State College in 1992, I was required to observe the classroom environments in two different high schools of my choosing. I chose to visit business classes at a high school located nearby in a wealthy suburb and at a high school which is located in the heart of the city. We were required to take detailed notes about the environment and to draw some conclusions about how to teach. I recorded some descriptions of my visits in my field observation notebook and in summary I later wrote,

> The environment at Commerce is depressing. It looks just the same as it did when I was going to high school back in the sixties. It's drab, it's dirty. There are only about seven students in the classroom--three of them have their heads on the desk, two are talking to each other and the other two have their books open but seem to be daydreaming. The wooden desks

are nailed to the floor.The teacher is standing in the front of the room reading from a book as if someone is really listening. She looks up and sees that the students are not actively engaged but she keeps on going. Although my visit was with permission and prearranged, I got the impression that my being in the classroom was making her nervous.

At the suburban high school the rooms were bright with ample and clear windows. The world outside was of tree lined streets, blooming flowers, green grass and chirping birds. The furniture in the classroom was modern and it was arranged in a semi-circle facing a screen that was used for an overhead projector. The teacher was enthusiastic and friendly. I noticed that there was one African American girl in the class of about 20 students. The lesson was about the banking system and how to use checking accounts. The teacher used the visual aids and gave the students sample checks for hands on learning activities. The students paid attention and asked lots of questions. (March 1991)

Yes, transformation can happen in spaces that are run down, but you increase the effectiveness of the teaching and learning experience when you provide for an environment that speaks positively to the spirit, stimulates the mind and promotes interaction. Art, color, creativity, light, air, cleanliness, furniture, scenery, smell and more are all important. Environments draw on our senses and contribute to the experience of living, loving, learning and laboring. It is a privilege to teach and the classroom environment must be treated with care. When I begin a new course, I start by sharing my conception of the classroom with my students and then I ask them to share their conceptions of the classroom with me. My statement of vision is that "the classroom is an empowering place where groups of highly competent and diverse people come together to interdependently share their knowledge, perspectives and experiences to help each other to learn and to grow as human beings. People respect each other and they are committed to developing their own individual potentials as well as contributing to the progress of humanity". We must insure that classroom environments are treated as sacred spaces.

Communities as Partners

When my Uncle Alton shared with me the article that he wrote entitled, Tools for a Complex Society, I was reminded of how important community is to the enterprise of teaching and learning. He wrote the article in 1966 when he was a high school social studies teacher and his intent was to keep the community informed about the ways that the school was making connections with the community. The article identified the skills, knowledge and competencies that were needed for students to be "better equipped to meet everyday problems", and it described the collaborative process that was used by the teachers in this segregated school to develop a "functional" curriculum. Black studies programs within higher education were uniquely designed to make connections with communities long before the concept of "community service learning" was introduced.

Glassick , Huber and Maeroff (1997) make the point that "the history of American colleges and universities is inextricably bound to the intellectual and cultural heritage of the nation itself" (p. 6). The application of scholarship becomes practical when it is worked out with the community as a partner. Community can be defined in many ways, but the essence of it is that there is an interdependent relationship among people, places and things. Karabell (1998) reminds us that in the normal course of things within higher education "academic jargon and intensely complex argumentation make contemporary academic work inaccessible to the general public" (p. 72). Palmer (1983) says that "truth is communal" and, therefore, the academy cannot afford to operate in a vacuum. African American scholar-activists understood this clearly. Marable (1992) explains that,

> To have practical relevancy to the actual conditions and problems experienced by African American people, Black Studies must conceive itself as a type of praxis, a unity of theory and practical action. It is insufficient for black scholars to scale the pristine walls of the academic tower, looking below with calculated indifference to the ongoing struggles, and that our scholarship is without value unless it bears a message which nourishes the hope, dignity and resistance of our people (p. 32).

An insular academy is not subject to the public's scrutiny or useful to the public's need. Higher education will be transformed when we design educational programs and curriculum that directly and purposefully involve the community as a partner.

Outcomes Assessment as Humanistic Research

The public expects higher education to be accountable and "outcomes assessment" has become the buzzword for addressing these concerns. Carter and Folkerth (1995) contend that quality control and outcomes assessments are central administration issues and despite consternation over campus visits achievement of accreditation and high percentage passing rates on certification exams are recognized measurements" (p. 1). Outcomes assessment is really about measuring the performance of students, teachers and institutions within higher education. The thrust of efforts to measure performance has been for colleges and universities to develop tests and more tests that can demonstrate student learning. These tests have not necessarily been designed to provide feedback to students and teachers so they can improve their performance. Instead, they have been used to generate data that "proves" that colleges and universities are truly educating people.

Outcomes assessment is also affecting curriculum. Carter and Folkerth (1995) say that "external influences" are determining curriculum direction more than ever before. They categorize students, regulatory bodies, industry, and professional practice as "inputs" into the development of curriculum within the academy. From their perspective, the students are viewed as consumers with expectations of success in a given profession. It is then the educators responsibility to structure curriculum to meet the needs of all of these inputs. The performance "standards" that are usually used to measure the effectiveness of curriculum are quantitative measurements. Allender (1991) says that there tends to be "an overemphasis on quantitative methods" in research, and he urges us to find balance by placing the intent of the research at the center. If the primary intent of outcomes

assessment is continuous improvement in the teaching and learning process, then more humanistic and qualitative research methods might guide performance measurements.

Allender (1991) says that all types of research are needful and are encompassed within humanistic research, and he explains that "the overriding goal of humanistic research is personal growth and improved interpersonal connections for everyone-including the investigators-who are involved in the research process" (p. 14). When outcomes assessment is approached from a humanistic research perspective, then the role of higher education in the process of transformation can be made clear. Outcomes assessment to help someone grow is infinitely more valuable than outcomes assessment to superficially rank the "performance" of various institutions. If the goal of outcomes assessment is to improve teaching and learning through humanistic research, then higher education can be transformed and we can transform people and the nation.

Leaders as Visionaries

Karabell (1998) reminds us that "now and even more in the future, what goes on in the university is inseparable from who we are as a nation" (p. xi). So *who* holds the future for higher education? Birnbaum (1992) contends that "an interpretive view of leadership emphasizes the importance of leaders in developing and sustaining systems of belief that regenerate participants' commitment" (p. 10). People who are in positions of power within higher education do have a role to play in shaping our future. In my view, the existing social structure was developed and is maintained by leaders who act on their vision of the world, and they have the power to make public policy decisions that guide the content and context of our lives. Leaders in organizations also have positions and power to make decisions. Many of the decisions that must be made and the people and resources that must be managed are in the hands of a select few people in these leadership positions. Will these leaders have the courage and vision to use higher education as a vehicle for change?

Schuman (1982) asserts that "it is necessary to restructure our colleges and universities so that they both allow us to be our best selves and help us to make more sense and do better in and with the world" (p. 237). Leaders within higher education must see the challenges for transformation in the context of history and our present day realities. Higher education serves as a guardian of our cultural ideology and higher education gives legitimacy to "rigorous" research that is produced to suggest and justify public policy decisions and private actions. Toffler (1995) emphasizes the pivotal role that higher education plays in our society by saying, "all economic systems sit upon a knowledge base". He contends that as we move into the new millennium, we will need a new kind of knowledge. He also explains that "not all this new knowledge is 'correct', factual, or even explicit. Much knowledge, as the term is used here, is unspoken, consisting of assumptions piled atop assumptions, of fragmentary models, of unnoticed analogies, and it includes not simply logical and seemingly unemotional information or data, but values, the products of passion and emotion, not to mention imagination and intuition" (p. 36).

African American scholar-activists have viewed their leadership position and authority in terms of a collective responsibility to cultivate the greater good--for African Americans and the nation. The concept of knowledge has been inclusive and justice has been more than just a word. African American scholar-activists have used their spiritual intellects to think critically and to dream of worlds yet unseen. They have been courageous and they have taken risks. African American scholar-activists have tapped into the spirit to change the status quo and they have been able to relate well to all kinds of people. African American scholar-activists have cultivated clarity of mind and kindness of heart. They have developed their insight into human and community development and they have achieved results. We can learn more about how to cultivate leadership if we study the lives of African American scholar-activists.

Simmons points out that African American scholar-activists have some special cultural attributes that can contribute greatly to the success of higher education because

African Americans usually possess a set of skills that are critical to leadership. If more African American scholars are given the opportunity to lead, then we can expect to experience changing organizational cultures and goals. She explains that,

> African Americans have a strong sense of community--that's a good beginning for someone who wants to be a leader because leaders who don't see themselves as the primary beneficiary of what they're doing are going to be better leaders. Leaders who have the capacity to work with others in a collaboration, who believe strongly in that collaboration, will invariably be better leaders. People who have respect for others, and I mean respect irrespective of station, and economic power and social standing, is something that is ingrained in our community. Every mother teaches her child, 'don't get stuck up', 'don't think you're better than somebody else'--and that's something that's deeply ingrained. And it serves us well when we're going to have to play a leadership role. There are so many other things. I think African Americans have a very strong creative and expressive edge. Certainly, leaders in higher education have to be able to express themselves (personal communication, April 12, 1999).

Leaders' thoughts, words and actions can have far reaching consequences. Leaders within higher education must be individually and collectively bold and creative enough to forge new paths. Leaders must be capable of plumbing the depths of their souls and connecting with others to create a shared vision of what we can together accomplish. West (1994) suggests that, "whoever our leaders will be as we approach the twenty-first century, their challenge is to help America determine whether a genuine multiracial democracy can be created and sustained in an era of global economy and a moment of xenophobic frenzy" (p. 13). Cole (1993) says that "indeed the struggle for equity in American higher education is absolutely essential if we are to send our youth, truly educated, out into the world, prepared to live in it, to understand it, and to change it for the better" (p. 15).

Leadership in the academy is tied to multiculturalism and moral development. King (1967) describes morality as a "restless determination to make the ideal of brotherhood a reality in this nation and all over the world", and he urges us to "let spirit be the order of the day" (p. 89). The leadership from within higher education that we need to visualize possibilities and to take action for change cannot be identified by the job titles that they possess or the seniority that they hold or the color of their skin. The leaders who hold the future for higher education are the people who can recognize spirit and act on the goodness of humanity. If higher education expands access to leadership positions and cultivates the leadership capabilities of teachers, students and administrators within higher education, then higher education and the nation can be transformed.

Possibilities for Future Research

Having a special interest and passion about African Americans and higher education really provided fuel for this study. Marshall and Rossman (1995) refer to this as "want-to-do-ability". In conducting this research project, I discovered numerous other ways that I could approach this inquiry as well as other inquiries that I would like to make. First, my interest in writing my own autobiography has been heightened through this experience. The autobiographical sketches that I wrote as a part of this process only "scratched the surface" of my life. There is so much more to know and to do! Sullivan (1991) says that "telling the stories of our lives is a way of seeing the source of our being, a way of honoring and thus integrating all the events of our lives. Writing is a means of direct contact with our soul, of contact with the most intimate truth of our human trinity: body, mind, spirit" (p. 7). Embarking on this journey is probably the next step for me.

I also identified several other autobiographies that I would like to read with a particular focus on African American scholar-activists who have really focused their energies more on the political arena. DuBois' experiences with the NAACP prompted this interest. While many of the scholar-activists that I studied revealed some information

about their personal lives, I did not delve too deeply into identifying ways that their personal lives affected their professional lives. Putting these aspects of their lives together could be revealing in terms of how the scholar-activists coped with adversity and made decisions. It would also be interesting to read the autobiographies of scholars from other races and cultures to discern similarities and differences in the human experience. I expect that the life of scholars who are deemed prominent in higher education, such as someone like Clark Kerr, would be informative and enlightening.

I was also intrigued by the role that money and power play in transformation at the personal, organizational and social levels. Capitalism reigns. The impact of funding decisions for HBCUs and the government's resource allocations for higher education were the driving forces for both maintaining the status quo and promoting social change. Various scholar-activists also wrote and spoke about how class issues affected their lives. Undertaking this study from an economic standpoint would be fascinating for me, given my orientation to economics and my early belief that, despite issues of race involving black, white, yellow and red, "the color in America is really green". Such a focus would also give me a greater understanding of the intersection of politics and economics in higher education--something that cannot be ignored by anyone truly interested in transformation.

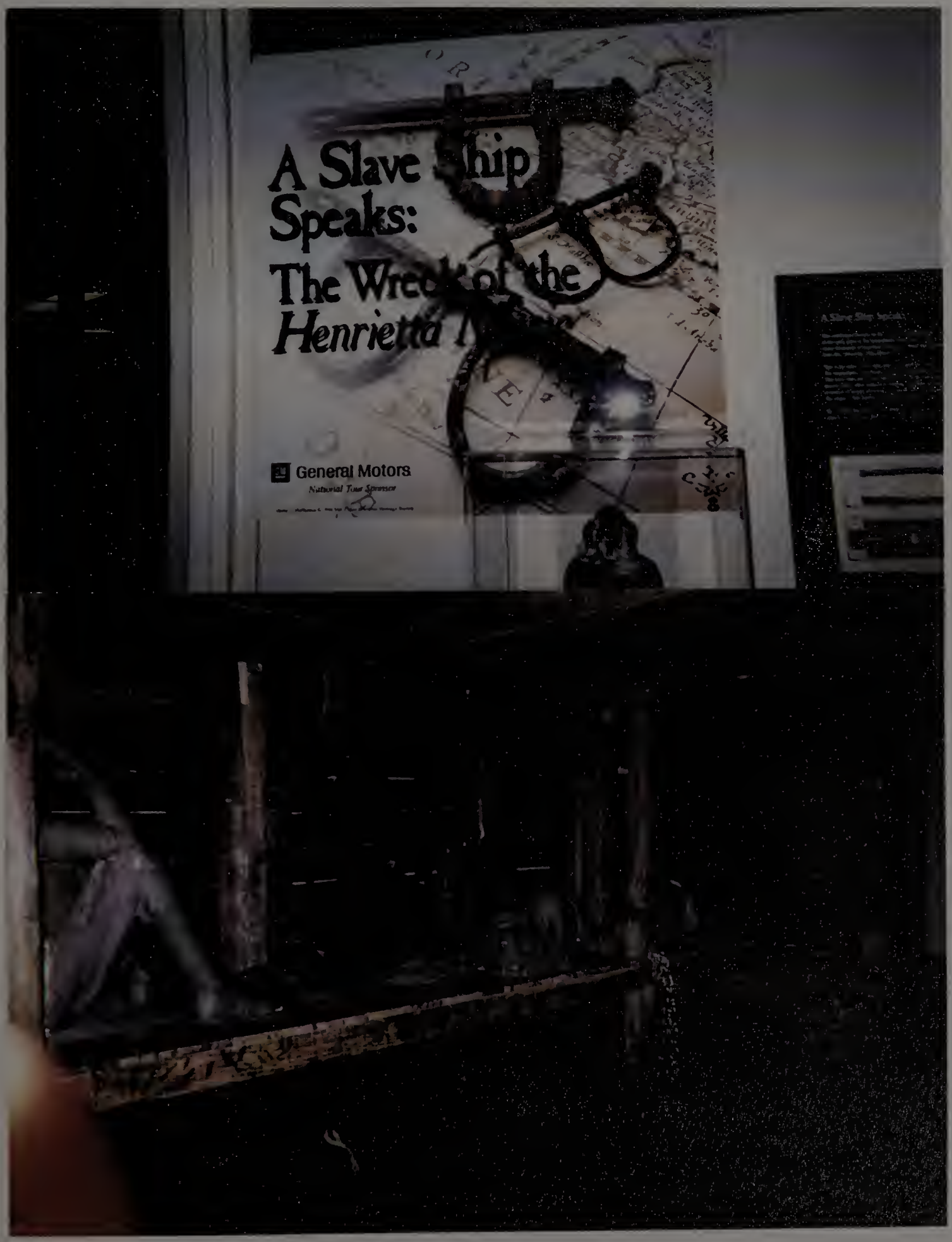
Finally, the research that I did on teaching and curriculum issues peaked my interest in finding out more about ways that action research can be used in the field of education to produce curriculum change and to develop the skills and knowledge of teachers. I am also interested in pursuing more research about the K-12 education system. Most importantly, I would like to apply the five critical dimensions of teaching and transformation to a pre-school and higher education setting to "test" the efficacy of this approach. In addition, it would be interesting to explore further ways that autobiography can be used as a research tool for teachers as well as ways to measure the transformative results of curriculum that is informed by and constructed around afrocentricity, feminist

theory and critical pedagogy. As much as I know about African Americans and higher education, I would still like to know more. Research is for a lifetime!

In his book, There is a River, Harding (1981) wonders what the legacy of African Americans will be in America. Looking backward, he asks the question, "was it indeed possible that black men and women were forced to struggle to possess or transform the whole country before any of the children of Africa could really be set free?" (p. 36). As a result of this research study, my spiritual intellect tells me that if African Americans embrace the fullness of who we are and are able to participate fully and equitably in society, then all of humanity will be beneficiaries of our journey. In conclusion, when all is said and done, I have an abiding faith that the spirit will lead us forward to peace, love and justice for all--no matter the color of our skin. When we reach this point together, then we will truly know the intrinsic value of "higher" learning.

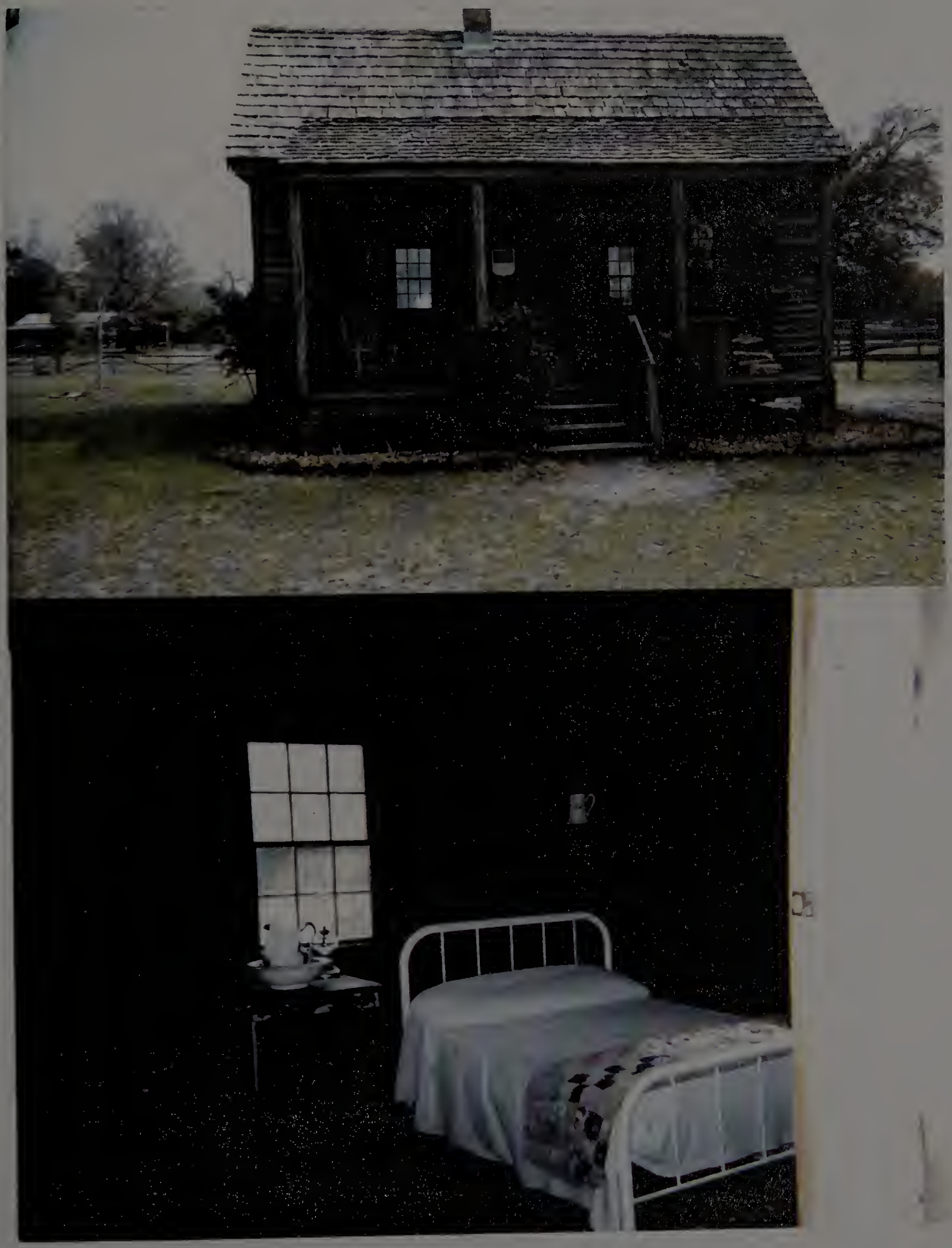
APPENDIX A

A VISIT TO THE CAPE FEAR MUSEUM IN
WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA



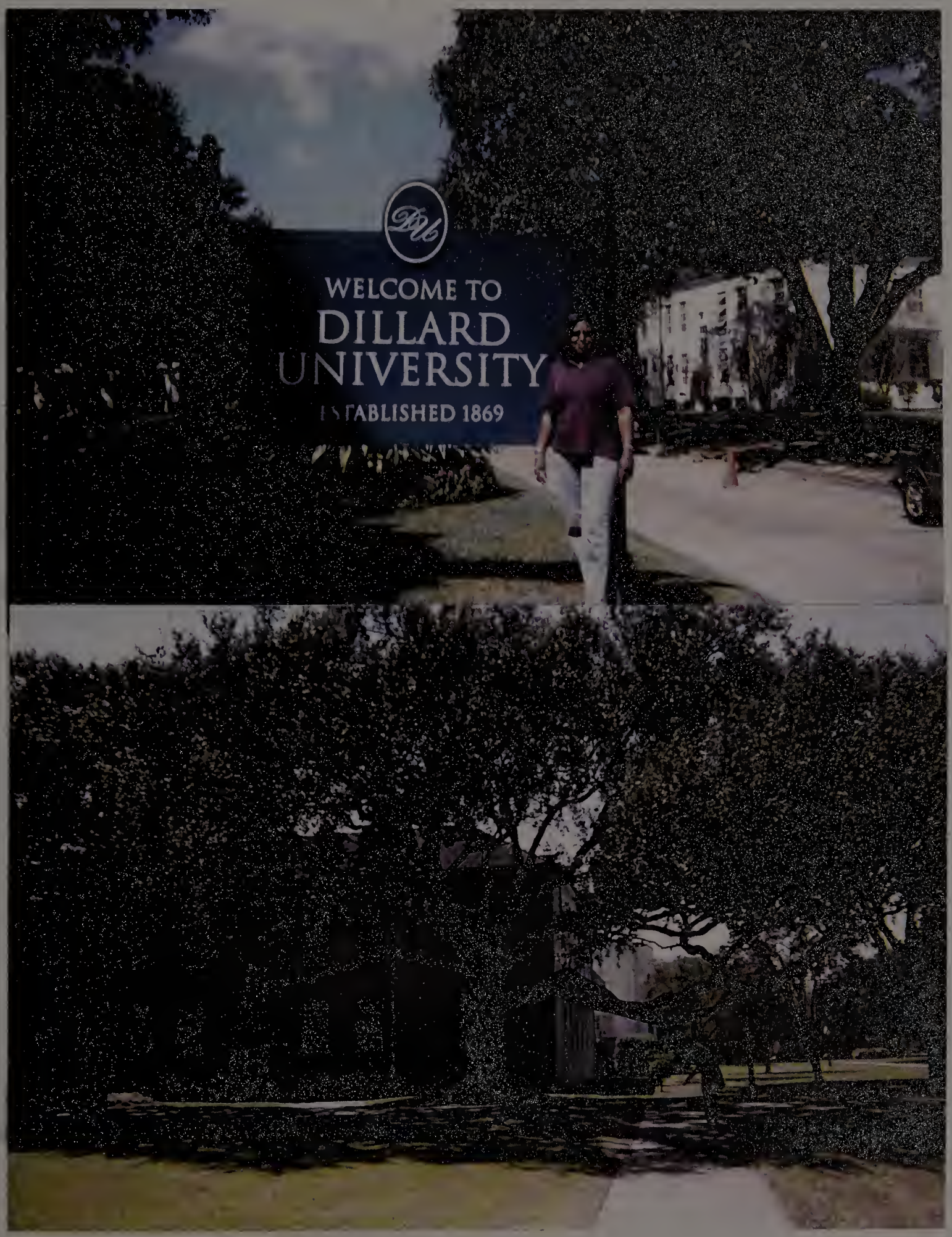
APPENDIX B

A VISIT TO THE POPLAR GROVE PLANTATION IN WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA



APPENDIX C

A VISIT TO DILLARD UNIVERSITY IN NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA:
THE MIGHTY OAK TREE



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